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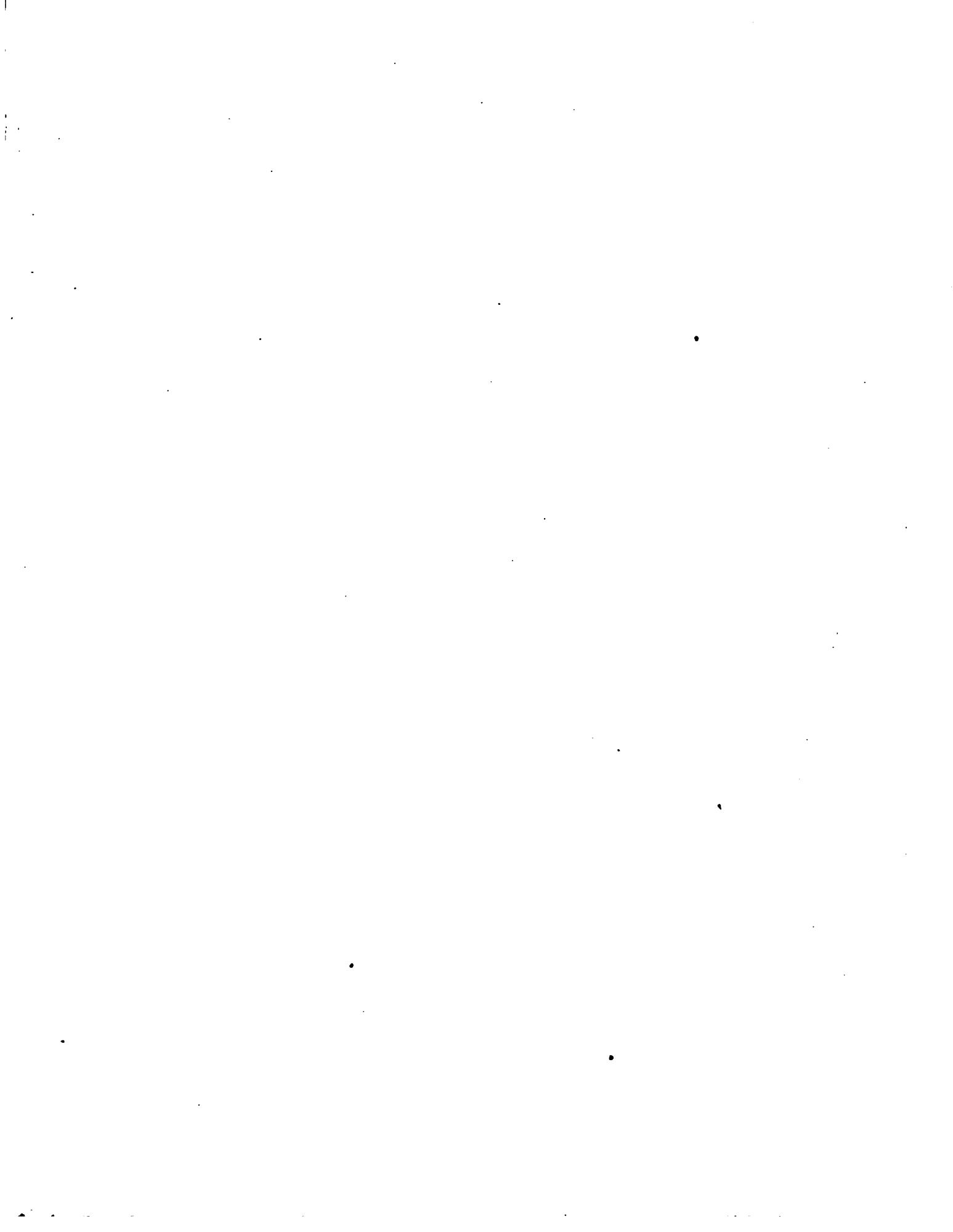
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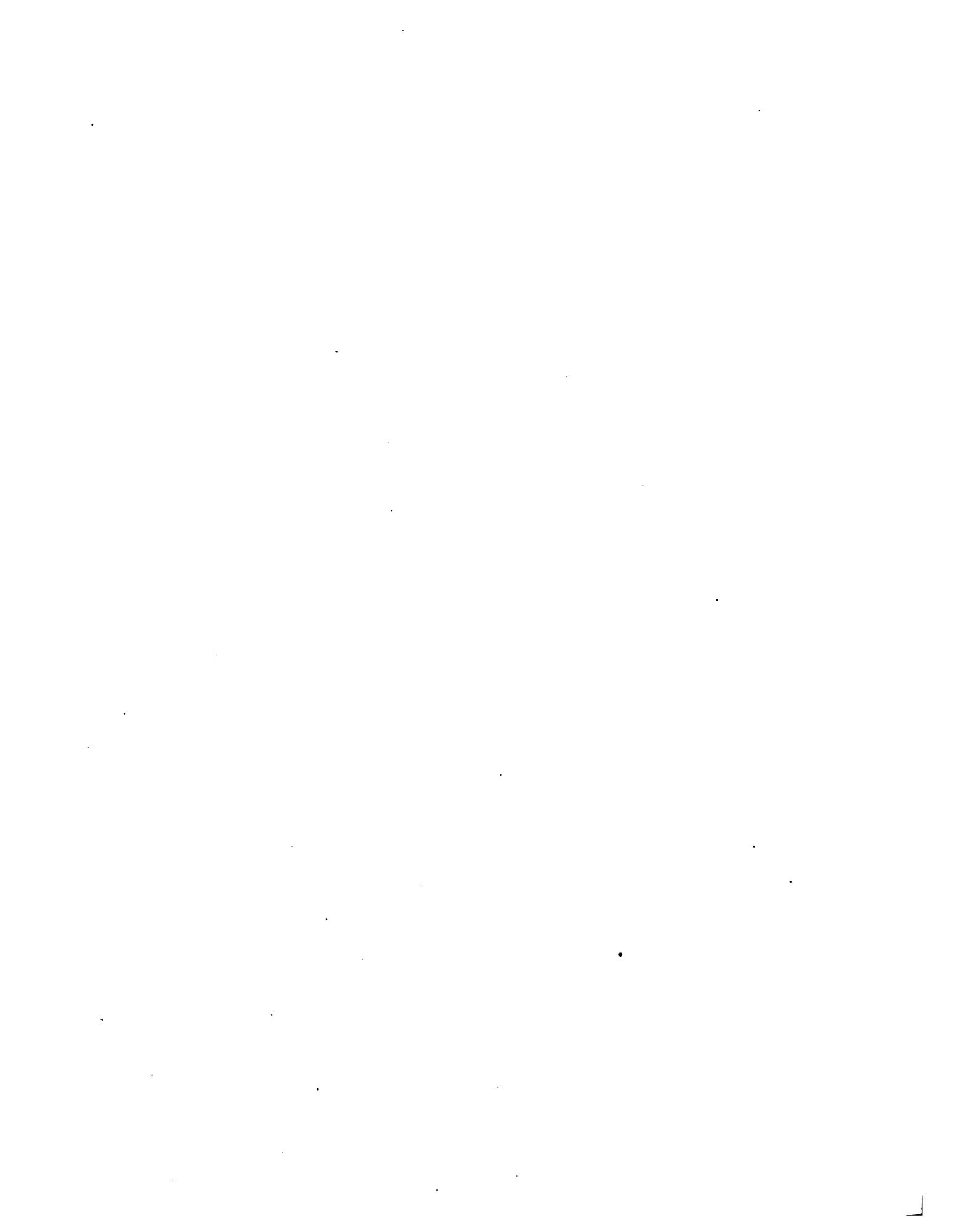
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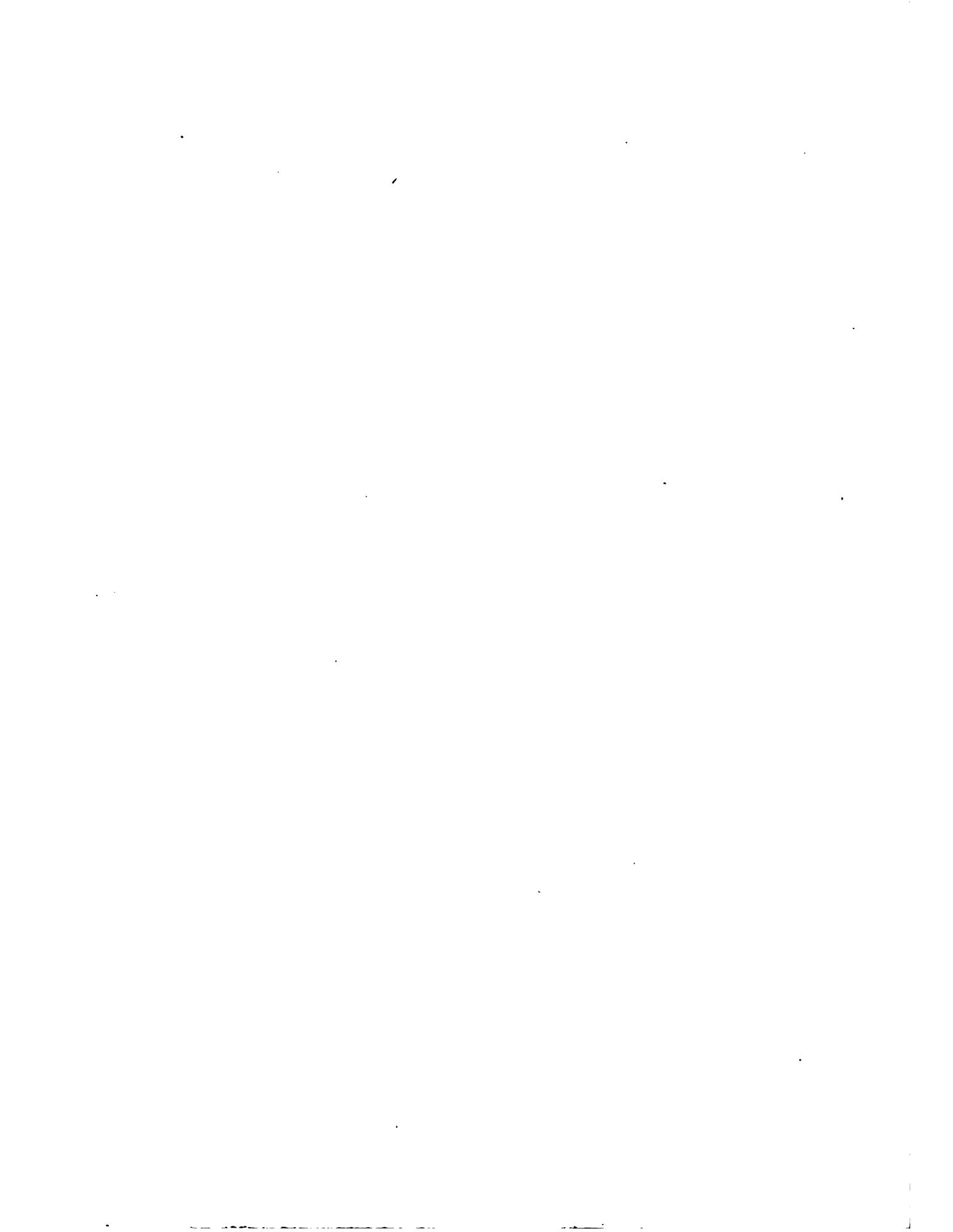


HISTORY  
OF  
MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS;  
A FRAGMENT;

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH  
OF ADAM BLACKWOOD.



PRINTED AT EDINBURGH,  
MDCCCXXXIV.



**PRESENTED**

**TO THE**

**MAITLAND CLUB,**

**BY**

**ROBERT ADAM.**



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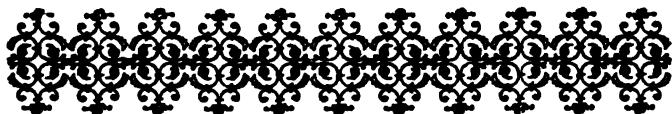
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THE mutilated historical fragment here given, from the only Manuscript known to exist, is a translation of the work entitled “*Martyre de Marie Stuart Royne d’Escosse et Douariere de France ; par Adam Blacvod, Conseiller du Roy au siege presidial de Poictiers.*” It was first published anonymously in the year 1587, and passed rapidly through several editions; owing its celebrity more, perhaps, to the intense interest of the subject, than to the intrinsic weight or merit of the composition.

His occasional employment in negotiations in behalf of the Queen of Scots, and his intimate connection with the Archbishop of St Andrews, had certainly afforded the author the means of access to correct information; but Blackwood’s object was not that of writing a faithful history, but an eloquent panegyric on the virtues of his royal mistress, an indignant exposure of her sufferings, and an unsparing invective on the atrocities of her whom he regarded as the relentless persecutor and murderer of the unfortunate Mary. In these respects, his zeal and his passions had plainly hurried him far beyond the bounds of decency or discretion; and the remark of Jebb, the latest editor of

Blackwood's tract, will be generally admitted as just : " Dum prae fer-  
" vidioris animi impetu Elizabetham Angliae Reginam, tam virulento  
" insectitur calamo, dum facta illa et falsissima de Henrici VIII. et  
" Annæ Boulenæ incestuosis amoribus historiae suae inserat, id quidem  
" fere efficit, ut dicendo nimium nihil dixerit."

On comparing the French and English copies of the work, it will be found that the translation is not always very close or very accurate ; and that, in the English copy, names, circumstances, and remarks, not indeed of much importance, are occasionally introduced, which are not to be found in the original. The Manuscript, which is obviously of the latter part of the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth century, was latterly in the possession of the late Mr Dillon, a member of the Club, but of its previous history he has not left any notice.

The French work of Blackwood is so easily accessible, that it has not been deemed worth while to attempt a translation or to reprint the original of the parts which are here wanting ; which at the beginning extend to about twenty-five pages, and at the end to more than sixty pages of the edition of his works published at Paris in 1644. Between these two deficiencies, however, there is this difference, that the first nine leaves of the manuscript have evidently been lost or destroyed ; but that it had never been continued beyond the point where it now terminates.

HISTORY  
OF  
MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

ON the other syde, he extold the name of Steward, ther auncient waloure, ther wertue, and the long time that they had reigned, and what misfortune it wer if the croune should be taken from ther heade, and giwen to another surname. To remedie such an inconvenient, and to reteine the memorie of her maiesties selff and her noble auncetouris, (all which was speeche too pleasinge and curreinge favoure,) he wifhed with all his hearte that shee wold tie and ioine the croune to foure houses of the name of Stewarde, and substitute them one after another, incase her maiestie should decease not leawinge anie roiale issue of her bodie. The foxe thoughte with him selff he might easelie obtain this request, and that he should not feill to be first nominated him selff, consideringe the lowe that shee bare him in giwinge him the authoritie in the realme, he beinge of her surname, and therwithall the reputed naturall sonne of King James 5, her late deceased fathur. But her

Maiestie was not so simple or onadwised but shee presentlie conceiued whither the impudencie of this demaunde tended ; for if shee had then graunted it, shee knewe this substition wold have beene her ruine, knowing the men that wer nominated, but her base brother speciallie, who was first in ordour, to be in natour so ambitious that he wold hawe no pacience till he had killed her Maiestie, either with poyson, fworde or by some other indirect, oblique and siniffr meanes, to compasse his desinged enterprise. But this her intention the Queene did werie witte- lie cower and excuse in regarde of her minoritie, and for the obligatioun shee was bound in to those to whome the course of nature after her death had allotted the croune.

By this aunswere the Bastarde weeble perceiwinge that he could not corrupt the goode meaninge of the Queene concerninge the house of Hammilton as nearest to the Roiale familie, and that shee was so jealous for the greatnes and adwancement of her lafull heires, that shee wold newer permitt that by this substition the course of the auncient lawes of the croune should be stopped concerninge the lafull and naturall suc- cession, he dewised one meane whereby he thought to abolishe all the race of the Hamiltons, and to hinder her Maiestie that shee should not marie, and in so doinge in the end to inwest him selff in the posseſſion of the croune ; and the meanes was the restitution of the house of Lenox ; but the mater hapned quite otherwise : he knewe the deadlie spite that was betuene the house of Lenox and the house of Hammiton, and for that cause the Earle of Lenox retired him selff into England, and had ther continewed so longe that he was not nowe taken for a Scottishman, but for a natural subiect and waſſale of Elizabeth, hawinge married within her dominions ; of the which mariage he had two sonnes aliwe, the Lord Dernelie his eldeſt ſone beinge then ten or twelfe yeares olde, one of the goodlieſt Princes that ewer man ſett his eyes vpon ; the other was Lord Charles, a goodlie younge gentleman of greate future hope alſo. The

Bastarde, (whome hencefoorth throughout this Historie we will name Murraie, seeinge other writers, and those speciallie of his cuntrie call him so) hawinge hindered her Maiestie to joine herself in mariage with anie forrenner beyonde seas, or to allea her selff with anie of greate mighte that sought her mariage, thinkinge to keepe her fruitleffe in her bodie and without issue or heire to the croune, and yeet thinkinge he could hardlie so keepe her, such was the youngnes of her yeares honoured with excellent beautie, but at lenth by the commone consent of her nobilitie shee wold seeke for her selff a fitte peere, offered and propounded vnto her the mariage of this younge Prince, not intendinge that the mariage should go farwarde, but onlie to turne her from the conceate of anie other more mightie : and to maske and to cower his purpose, which was in no waies to suffer her to marie : all this was done, and he sett these reasons doun for certane motiues to hinder the intended mariage, he him selff beinge the first propounder and authour theroff. First, he held it sure that shee should newer marie with this younge Prince for the proximitie and nearnes of bloode, they beinge cusinge germanes ; and secundlie, for the inequalitie that was betuine him and them that offered them felwes to her, and so if it hapned to fall out, that shee should marie him, he assured him selff he could frustrate her by lettes and impedimentes he could procure from Elizabeth out of England. Beholde then howe he offereth this prince to her Maiestie, thinkinge werelie that she should refuse him ; and in refusinge him he thought then werie redelie to plaie his parte, and keepe her from any prince that might in anie time after come to restrane and bridle him, or make him to liwe vnder anie lawe but in so farre as him selff best listed.

The Queene had newer dreamed of the Lord Dernelie, nor yeet of the Earle of Lenox his father, when Murraie and his complices first proposed it ; speakinge of him werie honourable, and extollinge him abowe the skies, he wished her to call home his father from exile, not to the intent

shee shold take his sonne for her husband, but to iuse him to ferwe ther turne, and that they might hawe meanes to propose sume against the potent Houise of Hammilton after he wer by ther meanes insinuated weeble into her favouur, who being ignorant to what these greate commendatiounes did tend, suffered them to speake without anie more to do, till vpon a certaine time after that his father was restored to his honour and his goodes they presented the sonne before her, when shee seeinge him beautifull and of good grace, weeblebelowed also as by Murraie and by some of the cheiffe of the nobilitie whom they had commended asweele absent as present, so much declared his wertues as they did see no prince vnder the heawen more woorthie to be companion of her scepter, shee thinkinge that such speaches came asweele from ther heartes as from ther mouthes, beganne to receiwe him into more favoure then they wold hawe had him in that had made a sporte and game of him, and so sufferinge her selff to be owercome by litle and litle, resolveth to affocate him to her roiale person. But Murraie and his complices, that it was in goode earnest, and that ther was no more jeastinge, was like to burste for werie malice, and biting ther fingers and blaminge ther folies, and blamed ewerie where the lightnes of ther Mistres that had suffered her selff so to be caried awaie with ther persuasions: and yeet the subtile traitour made a faire showe before her, feineinge that the mater wold do weeble wheroff he him selff not thinkinge was the first authoure: But knowinge it was all contrarie to his defignes, he endewoured and lauboured by all meanes possyble vnderhand to breake the blowe he had stricken; yeet [all] the cunninge he could iuse in Scotland was to no purpose: and therefore he addresseth him selff to England with manie thoufandes of accusatiounes and false reportes against the Lord Dernelie and his father, which for breuitie I omitt, thinkinge that by Elizabethes cominaundement they wold desist.

Elizabeth sendeth into Scotland Mr Throgmorton her ambassadour,

who lefte no thinge vndone to disguste the Queene of the lowe of this young Prince. But the mutuall affection of the two lowers had alredie taken roote so deepe in ther heartes, that it was not possible by evil reportes or threatninges of anie in the world to displant it. Her Maiestie thought not ther was anie in the Realme that disliked this mariage, being mowed therto by her bastarde brother that could do all by the most part of the nobilitie, whose praiers hawe almost a forme of constraint. The onlie impediment which shee founde in it was consanguinitie, wherwith the Pope had dispensed. Wher the mariage was vpon the point to be confirmed, see howe Murraie and his complices wer enraged; they runne to open force, and thinke to kille the Lord Dernelie and his father at ther returne from St Johnston to Edinburgh, and to confine the Queene, whome they wold accompanie, to perpetuall preson to the castle of Lochleawen perteninge to the bellie brother of Murraie. The place apointed for the assaulte was the church neare Lochlewen, which they had executed onles they had staied vpon the cominge of the Earle of Argile, one of the principall of the conspiracie: the goodman of Douhill, by name Lindefeie, had aduertised her Maiestie, and made her haften her pace on her jorne. The Earle of Rothus, who was brother in lawe to Lochleawen, tooke remission for hawinge a complice in this conspiracie, and the other seeinge that they had so manifestlie stumbled, albeit of the fidelitie and clemencie of the Queene redier to pardon then they wer to entreate, notwithstandinge all this, grew desperate like Judas, and did resolwe to followe ther purpose, confoundinge heauen and earth to cause the breach of this mariage so farre prejudicall to ther tyrannie: for to hawe gone about to execut such a treason, and to plaie with ther mistres, without endinge ther action and interprise, they thought it was to make the rope should strangle them selwes, or whett the kniffe should cutte ther owen throates. They purposed not therfore to holde ther armes acrosse; and to go on by open

warre they thought best ; and to drawe the commone people, too prompte of nature to rebellion, they caused it to be published throughout all Scotland that the Lord Dernelie was a papist, as was also his father and mother, and that the Queene had for no other cause maried him then to extirpat the faithfull professoures of the true religioun, and to owerthrowe the state of the realme establisched with the perill of ther liues and of ther fortunes, and that fore to bringe this designe to passe intended, they had secrete intelligences and preparatiounes nowe ordered in Fraunce, a thinge which they ought not, nor shoud, nor yeet could suffer, not onlie in regard of ther persons and estates, but for the mantenance and honour of God in the profession of a pure and true religion reformed by them. That ther persons, goodes and religion dependeth vpon the amitie by the deputies of Fraunce and England at the siege of Leith and since confermed by the States of Scotland, which at this present they wold corrupt and frustrate ; and that in this doinge ther processe wer alredie made as beinge attaint and convict of treason against God and man, and no thinge was behind but the haulter : that they must of necessitie prewent the danger, seeinge they had no meanes to refist with might, if the Queene and her husband had newer so litle aide of forren Princes, which they expected ewerie daie ; and for this respect, it was much better for them to affaile then to be assaulted, and be prewented by the tempest which they did see hang ower ther heade.

Heire you fie the pretexte of abolishinge the amitie and ther reformed religion was a werie faire and stronge pretence to drawe much people to ther faction : but in so much as manie of the nobilitie had no interest therein, they adioined another clause which did touch the greater parte of the nobles of the realme, and that might giwe them occasion to thinke of ther afairs; giwinge them to understand, and liftinge it vp as an enseignie, that her Maiestie wold rewoke all the alienatiounes of domane by her made duringe her minoritie, which is a customarie thinge to

the Kinges of Scotland after they come to be tuintie yeares olde, as is to be seene in ther actes of Parliament ; and further declared vnto them her Maiesties intent to rewoke and annexe to the croune all and ewerie of the landes of the church poffeffed by the nobilitie, which was better then the two partes of the reveinue of all the realme, a thinge werie hurtfull to them to hawe fo fweete a morfell pulled out of ther mouth, for they thought the rent of the church and all ecclesiasticall liwinges to be ther owen patrimonie, as they do yeet at this daie. Those reasons alledged by Murraie had fome appearance, if the subiect had been true, principallie in regarde of religion : but the Queene newer thought it, nor her hufband, to truble the estate of the realme or of the religion which was then at her mariage, for fhee fawfe at that time no meanes in the world to remowe it. But on the contrarie they keepte not on ther promefes which they promefed to her Maiefie by the Estates, wheroff we hawe spoken heirtofore, for it was agreed, that her Maiefie and thofe that followed her ſhould not be trubled in the free exercise of ther religion ; and yeet hawinge but one preift, he was outraged and beaten before his miftres face, his ornamenteſ of the altar taken out of his hand by Murraie his followers, and if it be true which Buchanan wreteth in his historie, they thought to hawe proceeded againſt him to hawe puniſhed him in ſuſh forte as is ordained againſt idolatoures in the lawe of Moses, in which you maie weeſe fife the meanes that this ladie had to effectuat that which theſe goode fellowes do mention heire. And yeet manie greate Lordes of greateſt accompt, and namelie the Duke of Shetlere, father to the Earle of Arran, ſuffered them ſelwes to be led by thofe cunninges that they tooke weapons in hand with Murraie, holdinge that true which he faide, because they fawfe him gowerne the whole realme at his diſcretion, and believed that he knewe the greate parte of her ſecret thoughtes. The thinge which principallie mowed them to followe him was the feare they had that all tragedieſ by them plaied in

Scotland was the absence of ther mistres should be examined, if this lawe of amitie wer abolished. Beholde them therfore in a redines in armes to attend the armie of her Maiestie, and to bidde her battell at Glascowe bridge. Amongest others of ther faction they had the Earle of Morton and the Lord Lindefay, who newerthelesse feinyed him selff to be for the Queene, and continowed on her fide to hawe the leadinge of the foirewarde, and at the first encounter he did flie and forsake her Maiestie, cauffing her to be taken if they came to hard blowes, but by Godis providence the conspiratouris wer afraied; for albeit they wer stronge enough to encounter with her Maiestie with the multitude of intelligences which they had yeet taken, I knowe with what panicke feare they durste not submitt the mater to be decided by one doubtfull battell, but fled awaie as they wer armed remowinge from place till they came into England, wher all traitoures ar welcum, cherisfed and receivewd with honour and credite. The traitour sonne to a commone strumpet beinge ther, plaid the part of Coriolanus the Roman, sollicitinge Elizabeth to make warre vpon his foweraigne and sister against his natvie cuntrie. But her councell thought it not best for sawinge of charges to proceede to open warre, but onlie by stratagems and cunninges without exposinge them selwes to so greate a multitude of men, to the hazarde of ther lawes and troblinge of the two realmes, hawinge meanes to effectuat ther designe in mowinge some sedition in the cuntrie, in the which the Kinge and his wife should be mingled and dwid for the two fewerall parties, which wold be a thinge that wold discower ther mindes, and make a discorde and mortall diffention betuine them, and the meanes to take them boith, and to dispatch therby first the one and after the other.

Secretarie Cecile and Thomas Randolph knewe weeles this plotte, who gawe adwise and councell to dispatch out of hand and to committ the two cruell filthie murders we shall speake of heirafter. Morton

had credite in the courte, beinge lefte ther by the traitoures to giwe intelligence howe all maters past there, and howe to betraie his mistres ; for they could not chuse a more fitte man than him to do such an act, who from his werie youth had beene renouned for his treacherie, and of whome his owen father had no goode opinion in his werie infancie : for at a certane time his nurse coming foorth with him in a garden, where his father was with some that had come to wifite him busie in talke, the nurse settinge doun the childe on the greene graffe, and not much mindinge him, the boie seeth a toade, which he snatched vp, and had eaten it all till a litle of the legges ; which when shee sawe, shee cried out, thinkinge he shold hawe beene poisoned ; and shee takinge the legges of the toade that he had lefte as yeet oneatten, he cried out so loude and shrille, that his father and the other gentlemen who wer not farre hard the outcries, who send to see what shold be the cause ; and when the messinger returned and tolde the mater as it hapned, in all haiste he come where his sonne was, and vnderstandinge as it was, he causid giwe the legges also, which he greedelie ate vp also ; which the father seeinge, said, The dewill chewe the or burste the, ther will newer come goode of the. As he prognosticated so it hapned ; for after, he was beheaded at Edinburghe, attainted and founde guiltie of heigh treason, for the murder of the King his maister. This gallant, then, as is saide, forsooke her Maiesties parte, and he followinge the courte plaied the flaiwe so weeble, that he gott him selff to be lужged within the roiale palice of his mistres, it beinge a house of great receipte.

Within also lужged the Queenes Secretarie, Dauid Rizio, a Pedemontane, a man of greate and longe experience, and understande best of anie ther the afaires of the state, weeble respected of his mistres for his singular witte, nowe beinge olde. He was a man of no beautie or outward shape, for he was mishapen, ewil favoured, and in wifage werie blacke ; but for his fidelitie, wisdome, prudence,

wertue and his other goode partes and qualities of minde he was richlie adorned. His maister the King much hated him because he was informed by the rebellis, he did what he could to establish a sure amitie and freindshipe betwine him and the house of Hamilton, who had beeene the cause of the banishment of his father the Earle of Lenox in England. An other caufe whie he hated the Secretarie was, because he refused to subscribe a conspiracie which the rebelles had drawine the King in, and made it knownen to the Queene. The conspiracie was thus : they did mowe the Kinge to resolwe with himselff, to take upon himselff the authoritie and sole and the whole governement, excluding the Queene, and to shutte her fast up in a stronge castle under the keeping of a stronge guarde. This conspiracie being detected, as saide is, the Lord Ruthven one of the conspiratouris much hated the Secretarie for his fidelitie to his mistres ; albeit he durst not nor could not but disclose the treacherie intended to hir maiestie who did finde him and the conspiratouris together at councell within a litle cabinet, for which her husband was heighlie offended. Morton also doubting the provident foir-fighte of this man, he being contrarie to his desigues, leaste he shoulde be hindered in his courses that wer not goode, did fullie resolwe to kill him, and in so doinge, dexterouslie to execut the councell given him by Elizabethes councell of England so euil and cursed as might be dewised, onles it wer by disloiale traitouris that thinke ther is no goode onles they rewenge them selwes of them that be opposite to them. Morton commeth to the young prince (not greatlie beseeene nor acquainted with the afaires of the commounewealth by reason of his younge and tender yeares,) he putteth in his heade to take the sole gowernement vpon him, excluding the Queene from all authoritie, and by this means he shoulde become greate and be respected, obeyed, and feared and honoured of all the kingdome ; in the which enterprise he wolde rine with him : it wer the best course to emancipat him selff out of

the handes of a woman, to whom it did not belonqe to commaunde her husband, it beinge a thinge against nature that the henne shoulde crowe before the cocke ; yea, against the commandement of the eternall God, that a man shoulde be subiect to his wyffe, the man beinge the image of God, and woman the image of man. See heire the faire beginning were plausible in shewe to a yong gentleman of a loftie stomake, and that hath honour and greatnes bearinge in his heade, a thinge that commoanlie befalleth the greatest spirites, as Plato and Tullie report, goode maisters of politie and gowernement of estates. At this were same time, (to sett fordwarde the enterprise,) the ministrie begann to preach against the gowernement of women, and Knox published a booke for this purpose.

So Morton perceiwinge the Prince gaiwe eare to him, he paffeth forther, and putteth into his heade, that the Secretarie of whome we hawe spoken, was more familiar with the Queene then was for his honour to suffer, and for the maiestie of the croune to endure it ; and that it was this Dauid that perswaded her not to yeelde vp her matrimoniall croune vnto him, which of right did belonqe vnto him, as beinge heade ower his wiffe, whom he might compell by all lawe divine and humane, to consent to a thinge so reasonable ; and if shee refused to do it, he promised him the Queene of Englandes assistance, with Murraies, his owen, and all the rest of ther faction, to stande sure his, and do the best they could for him ; who wer all retired thither to strengthen him, if it wold please him to pardon ther former factes, and restore them to ther estates, a thinge which he shoulde and myghte do without the adwise of the Queene, albeit shee wer borne foweraigne Kinge and Queene of the realme : He was her heade, and therfore shee shoulde depend vpon him, and not he vpon her. Thus you see he promised the Prince for his parte the title of a Kinge, not only duringe the mariage, but ewer after to him and his, if it shoulde hapen the Queene

to die without issue, for he might weeble enough hinder the heires of her Maiestie to aspire therunto. This false Judas, on the other parte, shewe to the Queene the youth of her husband, giwen all to his owen will and pleasure, and that he wold owerthrowe him selff if her maiestie helde not the bridle, and that the croune which he demaunded wold be the ruine of them boith if shee agreed vnto him ; shee did weeble to keepe the soweraigntie with her selff, who was weeble acknowledged of all the people to be ther lawfull Ladie and mistres, and that they wold not willinglie come vnder the Englishe yoke, for he could not but somewhat hawe a touch of the nature of the place where he was borne ; meaninge heirby that the English were feare and proude of nature, and that the Scottes could not endure them. And thus he did not content him selff to giwe councell to the Queene to make her husband odious vnto her, but also he desired that this poore Prince, that shee might think him her best freind amongst the nobilitie, in blaminge his pride, that he was so insolent as to aspire to hawe the title of the Kinge of Scottes, and abuse the Queene as if shee wer a flaiwe ; that his insolencie was intollerable, not onlie in regarde of her Maiestie, but also of all the nobilitie ; that it was necessarie to bridle it, to the end he might not abuse his goode fortune, and that he might not adwance him selff forder then the lawes of the realme establisched wold permitt. See heire the subtile and dewilish practises of this makebate, in the absence of Murraie his confederate freinde.

The poore Prince, doubtinge nothinge of the treafone which was a bruinge, tendinge to his last ruine, and dreaming no thinge but of his owen particular meanes to attaine to be greate, putteth his whole trusfe in Morton, and supposeth the Queene his wiff by the councell of her Secretarie did refuse to inwest him in the kinglie diademe ; so that you maie behold from the begininge of this tragedie, the death of this poore man is agreed vpon, and fullie resolwed to

be putt in execution. The Queene knewe nocht of these notable cowenantes and bondes betuine Morton and her husbande. But seeinge the occasion was offered by the absence of Murraie and his complices, to do somethinge for the honour of God and religion, which till that time she durste not nor yeet had she anie meanes to undertake, shée assembled the thrie Estates in the beginninge of March, that iustice might be exactlie and trulie ministred without respect of persons, indifferentlie to all men throughout the realme, it some fewe yeares together with religion beinge troden vnder foote ; wherwith her husbande seemed so weeble content, and cherisshed the Queene more then usuall, that he knewe not howe to do enough to please. But in so much as in treatinge those afaires, ther must needes be speech of the rebelles that wer in England before the first Session of the Estates, these businesses wer trubled by the meanes of a treason the most bloodie and barbarous that ewer was harde of to be committed in the presence of a soweraigne Queene bigge with childe. When shée had supped in her palice of Holierodehouse within her cabinett, supper hardlie yeet ended, her husband, the Earle of Morton, the Lord Ruthwen, and the Lord Lindefaie, came within the cabinet, accompanied with a companie of men all in armour : Amongest others, Ruthven, hawinge his heade peece vpon his heade, and the rest of his bodie armed vnder his goun, at his cuming in fitteth him selff doune in a chaire, and looked vpon the Queene with a sterne countenance. The Queene markinge him weeble, faide, that his comminge in was like the fashion of one that came to do no goode. To her he answered, he wished no harm but to a wilien that was neare vnto her, pointinge at the Secretarie with his finger, and that he must needes go out. These woordes wer no sooner uttered but he was ewerie waie assaulted, when he catched holde of her Maiesties goun, cryinge aloud, Justice, Justice ; but for all that, they stroake him ower the Queenes shoulder, without anie respect of her roiale per-

son, when shee was greate with childe and neare her reackninge. Amongest otheris. of the murdereris, the Lord Ruthvens eldest sonne, (some saie it was Andrewe Carre of Faudonside,) hearinge her Maiestie complaininge of such crueltie done in her presence, helde a pistoll against her bellie, all in a rage and blaspheming God saide he wold kill her if shee rose out of the place or did speake one woerde more. To whome shee aunswered, (after they had offered her manie iniurious speeches, which no honest man wold hawe offered the most abiect and contemptible person in the world,) shee trusted in God, who did beholde this from the hie heawens, wold rewenge this wile contempt ; and settinge her two handes to her fides, shee said, shee hoped God wold mowe that which was betwaine her fides, meaninge the childe of whome shee was then bigge, to roote him out, and his treasons, and all his treacherous posteritie ; which the world nowe maie see to hawe taken effect.

The rebellious traitoures wer adwised by the councell of Englannde to attempte this cruell murder in her presence, that the Queene being frighted at the sight of this terrible tragedie, might be brought to bed before the time, and so the infant might die ; which he had not failed of but had died, (as was supposed) with his mother, onles one of the companie had not turned backe the hand of one that stroake cruellie at the secretarie with his dager, from the Queene : But God in his mercie, who saide, Touch not my anointed, had lefte of her a mighty King, who hath taken wengeance of manie of these treasonable traitoures, as the mother had longe before tolde in ther hearing.

Beholde this maffacre accomplished, the poore Secretarie beinge cruelly murdered before the eyes of his mistres, and assasinated with sixtie mortall woundes, and shee her selff locked vp and putt in preson within a chamber, her domestiques, garde and serwitoures chased and driwen by force awaie out of the palice, and 24 men in armes, reteinars of the murther-

ars, sett to keepe her chamber dore, to hinder that no man leivinge should come neare to speake or conferre with her Maiestie. Morton had provided 400 men all in armes, and conweied them within the palace courte, attendinge the execution of the cruell murder. Then within xii houres after this assasination of the Secretarie, Murraie and his complices arriwe from England, weeke guarded and accompanied; wherby we maie weeke perceiwe the Englishe was partie. I call my Lord of Bedforde, then Gowernour of Berwicke, witnes, who desired, coulde and wold speake the truth in this point, if Elizabeth and her freind Leicester had suffered it. The rebelles beinge arriwed, the first thinge they did was to appeare at the time apointed them, within thrie daies of the which daie of ther appearance was the laft that they should hawe beene dispossessed of all there goodes and estates, and degraded from ther nobilitie, and ther armes rent and torn in the publick assemblie of the Parliament, if they had feiled in ther cruell enterprize. They presented themselwes ther all in armes, and demaunded the acte of ther appearance, finding no person in iustice that demaunded of them anie thinge contrarie to ther goode liking. So the Parliament kept not; the realme beinge trubled by these broiles they sturred vp to hinder them to come to ther dewe triale.

Murraie at his arriwall gaiwe his adwize, that the Queene should be gwarded straitlie in some stronge holde, where he and his affociates might commaunde, which they purposed to do. But before the execution of this adwize, ther intent was to conferre openlie with the Kinge about that which they purposed to do; the thinge beinge so weeke begunne, and beinge no time of daliance since they had entered so farre, and so much offended the Queene, that it should be an absurde and ridiculous thinge to thinke to please her, that shée had no hearte if shée wer no white touched with such crueltie, and that it was needfull to dispatch her out of hand, that they must of force

publishe throweout Europe her adulterie with Dauid Rizzio the secretarie, to make ther cause goode, not onlie before the people to appease ther furie, but also before the Kinge of Fraunce, and all Christian Princes that might be offended therwith, and seeke rewenge of such an outragious offence. And to cullour all thinges with a vizard or maske of abolishinge poperie and establishinge the religion of the Gospell, they promesed to the Kinge to invest him in the sacred diademes authoritie, and to acknowledge no other but his ; and to assure him of ther promese, they desired that instantlie some ordinances and edictes should be published at Edinburgh vnder his onlie name, without adioining therunto the Queenes name, as the custome was : but by goode happe it so fell out, that Murraie presentlie repented him selff, (dissimblinlie plainge the double knaiwe,) excusinge him selff, sayinge he was ignorant and innocent of all the conspiracie, desyrringe her pardon of the first faulte by him and his complices committed when they retired into England, shewinge her besides the danger wherin shee was, that if shee did not finde meanes to appease those who had killed the Secretarie, which shee might do by receiwinge them to mercie, so taking awaie the despaire of hope which they had to obtaine pardon. To whome shee aunswered, that he had newer knownen in her anie cruell minde, spitefull or vindictive, but to the contrarie, manie of them had a sufficient triale of her greate sweetnes and clemencie, whereof shee newer repented her selff ; this wertue beinge a thinge more beseeininge such a prince as shee was then anie other ; but beinge captive, detained and restrained of her libertie by open force, as shee sawe her selff to be, shee had no meanes nowe to performe it, and shewe in effect the grace which he requested for them ; for that which shee did could be to [no] end nor purpose to them, nor yeet to him, whom shee desired to gratifie abowe all others, and to do him all the pleasure shee possiblie could, as shee wold make it knownen by effect, ther violence hawinge taken such deepe course that it did

passe measour, but her bountie might exceede ther willanie. As this speech passed betuine and the bastarde Murraie, the Kinge in the meane while entered the chamber where shee was loked vp fast ; shee seeinge him, rose vp and came to him werie kindlie, tellinge him of his greate faulte, and the greate danger wherin his asperinge minde had and was like to bringe him in throwe ambition, and howe he had but finalle meanes to remedie the same, and howe litle occasion he had to diftract him selff from her lowe, and to adhere to her mortall ennemis, who had so often sworne and attempted her ruine ; that he had no thinge in Scotlande but by her, and vnder the shaddowe of her authoritie ; that shee was readie to bringe him foorth a childe, which mighthe encrease his power and credite ; and that shee was endangered with her iſſue to die, by the manifolde outrages done agaſt her ; that if that ſhould happen, he wer vndone, and that he muſt not hawe anie hope to eſcape the bloodie handes of theſe by whose perſuasion he had killed his wiffe and his childe ; that they wold not ſo be pleaſed to be freed onlie from him that had ſo quicke and ſharpe an eie into theſer aſfaires ; it was not Dauid Rizzio they ſhotte at, but they wold go forder in theſer buſines ; that this poore man, whom he had made be maſſacred ſo willanouſlie, without reſpect or apparence of iuſtice, wold crie for wengeance to God by his bloode ; and for that cauſe he ſhould make his recourse to Goddes diwine Maiestie, with vnfeingied repen‐tance for his finnes, and namelie that, and that theſer was no other meanes to exempt him ſelff from the hazarde of danger in the which they wer boith brought at the preſent by his onlie pride and raſhnes, except his omnipotent mercie, that abando‐neth not them who aknowlege theſer offences with an humble and contri‐te hairte.

This poore Prince, what ambition ſoewer did blind him before, hawinge weeble harde and confidered the Queens ſpeeches, beganne to putt water to his wine, to ſounde his conſcience, and with watrie

eyes, after he had craiwed pardon of her, he discovered fullie all the tale, without concealinge anie one pointe of conspiracie, yea, not hidinge ewen that which did concerne the liffe of her Maiestie; as also howe they had agreed in ther councell, by forme of iustice, or rather vnder a culour of lawe, to satisfie ther blodie mindes, the heades of the Lord Levingston, and the Lord Fleminge, and Sir James Bal- foure, and to massacre a greate number of the cheiff and principall Lordes of the realme, and to droune manie of her Maiesties ladies of honour, namelie the most auncient and nobleſt families. He declared also ther faire promeses they made him, of the title of a Kinge, and the aide and affiance of the Queene of Englande, and howe by her letters, ambaffadors, and large summes of money, ſhee had stirred vp all the former broiles and cruell conspiracies; and howe Jasper Collignie, Admirall of Fraunce, in cace the Christian Kinge Charles then liwinge, or those of the House of Lorran, or other Maiefsties parentes, wold take notice of those afares, promefed to do the like to aide and affift them to the utter- moft of his power; and he tolde her he could put no trufe or confidence in the woordes of ſuch cruell people, beinge ſawage, fearce and inhumane, and that on the contrarie he did attend no other thing then to accompanie her Maiefstie to the death, which was nowe certane and fullie agreed vpon and refolved.

The Queene, vnderstandinge these mysteries of ſo horrible and pre- sumpteuous treason, after that ſhee had againe shewed him the danger wherwith they wer compaffed, and the little affurance that ther was to be giwen to the promeses of men ſo barbarous, diſfolaie, and ſo full of impietie, praieth him to returne to them, and report vnto them that he had founde her in weſie goode temper to accorde and ſubſcribe whatſoever they wold; but beinge paſſoner as ſhee was, all that ſhee did was in no force nor wertue, and that was of the adwife that for this onlie night they wolde ſuffer her to hawe ſome libertie without guarde, ſeeinge ſhee

was fickle, and could not holde her selff vpon her feete, and that he wold aunswere for her person. The conspiratours attending his speech were diligentlie, to perceiwe his negotiation with the Queene, beinge returned vnto them againe, he aunswered them according to the instruction which the Queene had giwen him, and vpon it they longe deliberate. Some faide they must not lose the occasion to ridde her out of the waie, vpon whose death ther liwes depended. Some proposed the commotion of the people, if so they proceeded against her by waie of deede. Some gawe adwise to putt her to death, but they must exspect still till shee had subsigned and subscriwid ther remission and pardon, accordinge to the resolution taken in councell : but yeit in the end, beinge certifeed of the greate extremitie of her sicknes, and that shee wold hardlie liue till to morrowe, it was concluded that her husband should keepe her that nighte, and that he might remowe and retire the guardes, as he thought it best : which he did speedelie in the nighte, and founde the meanes to go foorth at a backe gate, where the Queene with greate danger of her liffe was helped and mounted vpon horbake, behinde Arthure Erskine, sonne to the Lord Erskine, her scriwinere, who conducted boith Kinge and Queene, fearinge ther liwes, in poste hafte to the castle of Dumbarre, 20 scottish miles distant from Edinburgh.

The rebelles wer readie to burste for despite that they had suffered them selwes thus to be deluded, wherby they had loste the occasion to ridde them selwes of ther Queene, which, perhaps, they might newer after recover ; but yeit they do ther best to assamble all ther affociates and complices in armes, to assaulte her Maiestie.

The Earles of Huntlie, Athol, and Boithwell, who had, on the other pairete, faiwed them selwes, escapinge out of the windoes when the Secretarie was kilde, had nowe gathered together 9000 men, whome they brought to succour her Maiestie, wherwith the rebelles, much amazed, did betake them selff to flighte, some into England, the old ordinarie re-

ceptacle for traitours, some into Argile amonkest the Irishe hielande men, exspectinge and attendinge some newe conspiracie and change of the Courte, as they call it, to the end to be called againe and restored againe to ther goodes and honours, and to hawe the meanes to plaie the last acte of the tragedie. The Queene, onwillinge that her husband shoulde be defamed with such a willanous murder and so detestable, made it be proclaimed, with expresse prohibition, vnder paine of incurring her indignation and heighe treason, to all persons, that none should speke euil of his heighnes, or saie that he was partaker of the death of Rizzio, her secretarie. Shee gaiwe him also letters of pardon, to the end his ennemis might newer hawe meanes to prewaile against him in such a heinous crime, not that shee feared, or had anie mistrusfe, he could be punished for such crime whilst she liwed, but in cace it hapned that shee should die before him; these letters giwen ones by the prince might awarrant him against all enquirie in a crime committed by him, (for in Scotlante letters ones giwen by the Prince ar not subiect to the iudge to [be] enquired and examined againe by them, but be presumed to have beene giwen with full and entier knowledge of the crime): wherin you maie clearlie see the synceritie of her lowe and coniugall affection which shee bare towardes him without fraude or fiction, notwithstandinge the rigours that shee made shewe of some time after, which proceeded not from anie ewill will, as you maie judge, but of greate discretion and wiſdome to make knownen [to] this younge Prince, floute of hand and curage, his greate pride and rashnes.

I priae the good readar compare this my discourse with that of Buchannans in his Scotiſhe Historie, wherin for this mater he hath as manie lies as woordes; and with the defamatorie libell composed by him in Latine, and declaimed at London, when he was ther with Murraie and his complices, to make the Queene his mistres odious. The Englishe durft newer hawe vndertaken the iudgment of ſuch thinge, as ſhalbe heirafter declared;

if this false traitoure had not beene incited, boith at home and by them, to disguise the weritie of this facte by painted eloquence. But in despite of them all, it shalbe most ewidentlie seene to a man that hath newer so little iudgment, and that is experienced in the afaires of the world at this most miserable time, what we can remember in our daies: he foundeth his principall argument, which he proposeth against his foweraigne to make her guiltie of her husbandes murder, vpon the mortall hatred which shee bare him, or had occasion to bare him, and to the rigour shee used towardes him ewer since the murder of her secretarie: But to make the contrarie appear vnto the, and that they, who killed the one, masacrred and assaulted the other, and that boith of the two murders came out of the same chope, by the paines and industrie of the Queene of Englande and her councell, I will continowe my narration to prowe this, albeit my propofitiounes of prohibitiounes made by her Maief-  
tie for speakinge euil of her husbande, and of letters of remiffion giwen him, be sufficient for full resolution and refutatioun of these shameleffe, perverse and detestable calumnies, proceedinge from the forge and invention of Satan him selff.

After the barbarous and cruell murder of the secretarie, the rebels, not able to make ther partie goode, forfooke the feildes and fled into England, the ordinarie herboure of such treacherous people, and these wer the cheiff and principall of them; wiz. Morton, Ruthven, and Lindefaie, who all wer at the execution of the cruell fact. Others fled into Argile with Murraie, who doubted not, as we hawe alredie faide, but he shoud be called home againe to the court to communicate in this mater of the murder, because he was absent, and the indignitie of the facte so greiwed her Maiefie, that shee wold easelie deface the memorie of all precedent iniuris, which thinge came ewen so to paffe; for her Maiefie sieing her selff environed with traitouris, and knowinge not whom to trust, and being ewerie daie follicited by persons interposed

by Murraie, did, in the end, by too greate a clemencie, yieldit him his pardon, giwing him againe all his honouris, and communicating vnto him her afairs and her most inwardre thoughtes, as in times past shee had ; which thing cauffed all the mischeiwes that ewer since hawe distressed her husband and her, and brought them boith to that lamentable end they came to. The King seeing this traitour afoote, and that his credite was more regarded in all the realme then his, tooke displeasure at it, and could not endure it. On the other parte, Murraie, Morton, and the rest of the murdering butchers of the secretarie, wold wishe willinglie the death of the young Prince, for abandoning ther parte, and for rewealing and telling all the tales he told of them to the Queene, of ther cruell conspiracies, to make them odious to her Maiestie ewer after, for which cause he could in no sorte truste them, knowing ther disloiale and false partes, without feare of God, pietie of men : he commeth to the Queene, he telleth the intention he had in his hearte to kille Murraie, whom he so much mistrusted that he doubted ewen his shadewe, and that ther was no other meanes to assyure him selff of his liffe ; declaring farther vnto her, that the death of such a tratour was the repose and rest of the whole realme, the assurance of the state, and comforde of the people.

Her Maiestie amazed, heiring his resolution, forbiddes hym in fewere and sharpe woordes not to blowe abroade this wicked designe, nor to passe anie further to effect the same, telling him, that it was vnfitting for a Prince, as he was, to be bloodie, and that he could not be content to kill her Secretarie, but he must needes also enter in her bloode and kill her brother, which she could not indure for the honour shee bare to the deceased Kinge her father ; she could not endure his bloode should be shed whom shee acknowledged for his naturall sonne, albeit a traitour and disloiale, by this meanes making no account of the bloode whence shee issued ; shee said shee had iustice in her handes

to punihe him as he deserwed, when shée desired to be ride of him, and such a cruell fate was forbidden of God and man. Yeet, notwithstanding all these declarations, he could not content him selff, but discovered it to manie persons that he lowed them not so weeble as they did Murraie, and he waunted werie boldlie to the purpose that they wold meete vpon the first occasion shoud be offered. But Murraie, more craftie and subtile then he, made a goode countenance on the mater, and feingeed werie cunninglie as if he knewe no thinge of the mater, shewing ewer a goode cheare, and yeet ceased not for all that, to giwe ordoure to prewent him : he did ewer perceiwe that the liff of this young Prince was ewer contrarie to the designes he had to come to the croune, and that he was of such curage that he wold not feill to execut his purposed intent, if in a goode houre he did not forsee the imminent danger, and prouide for it.

And for this cause, addressinge him selff to his ordinarie councell of England, he brought it about in such fort, asweele by the entreatie of Elizabeth, as by the intercession of the greatest favorites of the courte, and the most affectionat seruitouris of his mistres, that Morton and his complices obtained pardon of ther treasons, and wer rewoked from banishment, which thing much fortified him, asweele by reason of ther affiance, as by reason of the goode councell they brought him from Elizabeth and her councell, and for the olde hatred they bore also vnto him. At ther first arriwall, seeing her Maiestie giwe some shew of discontent towarde her husband, they put it in her heade to forsake him, asweele by reason of his diffolute liffe, as for because of the death of the Secretarie, wheroft as they saide he was the onlie authour. To the which shée made aunswere, that her husband was yeet but younge, and that shée wold easelie bring him into the right waie, and that of his nature he was weeble inclined and goode, and that ther was not a better nutured man in all the world, and that his corruption came of euil

councell of these that wer neither his freindes nor hers. Of this aunswere they receivew no content, hawing heirbye discovered that the greiffe of her Maiestie against her husband was no other thinge but a countenance, and that from her hearte shee perfectlie lowed him.

James Hepburn Earl Boithwell, hereditarie heigh Admirall of Scotland, had beene all his liftime a faithfull serwant of the croune, a man walian, and for magnanimouse prowesse, abowe all others ; but, as touching other thinges, audacious, proude, inconstant, changable, and easie to be perswaded, readie to vndertake, and more readie to put in execution ; and for this cause did Murraie and his wicked complices muche doubt and suspect him, and had ewer beene his deadlie ennemis ; and knowing full weeble the humour of the person, and that he was the fitteſt man in the world to execute ther minde and designe, they lauboured earneſtli to make him on ther fide, to effectuat the councell which they had taken in England, tendinge not onlie to the ruine of the Queene and her husband, but to his owen, who had not witt enough to conceiwe it. Having, therefore, entered familiarilie with him, they do beginne to propose the indignitie of the mariage of ther mistres with a younge and ſtubrunne foole, that had ſo much gulled her that ſhee was nowe discontented with him, and wold be glade to be ride of him, if by anie honest meanes it could be done ; but that ſhee was ſo wertuous, ſage and modeſt, that ſhee durfte not diſcover her greiffe to her beſt ſerwantes, that might remedie it, a thinge which cauſed her to be werie melancholious ; for hawing taken this young man vpon her owen motion, and without the concent of thoſe of Lorran and Guife, her mothers freindes, ſhee feared to be accuſed by them of liȝtneſs, if ſhee ſhould not diſpatch her ſelff of him ; but if anie goode companion wold giue him a deadlie blowe without her priuitie, and that nothinge might be imputed vnto her, ſhee wold not greiwe, nor be much diſpleased therewith ; for albeit he had giwen her the greateſt cauſe of the world to

die, be it by iuftice or adventure, so that it is that shee could not, without blame, openlie consent, asweele for the peoples woice, ignorant of her miserie, as in regarde of her parentes, whose adwifre shee durfte not aske, who beinge yeet duelite certifeed of the least indignities which shee suffered by constrainte of a man of no woorthe, wold councell her to be rewenged vpon him, and emploie the nobilitie of her countrie to deliwer her from his bondage ; for that it was he that was the onlie authour of the murder of the secretarie, and not so contenting himselff, he thought to dispatch out of the world her Maieftie, (so spoke they to Boithwell,) if shee had not faiwed her selff throwe a windowe : And after that he had done this famous acte, he was so impudent and proude, that he durfte write to the King of Fraunce, and to the greatest Princes of the Christianitie, letters defamatorie and full of lies against his wiffe, thinking by such meanes to excuse his willenie, boith of the inventing and execution of the cruell murder of the secretarie ; for albeit this poore man knewe not himselff, and made himselff odious to the nobilitie, yeet should he not hawe handled him so roodlie as he did in the presence of her Maieftie, hawing meanes enough to remedie the mater with leſſe scandale. There is no doubte but her Maiefties parentes of Lorraine and Guise, wold holde it werie agreeable and convenient to awenge the crime, if it wer fitte likewife for a woman to demaunde it ; but seeing we haue this ranke to be the firſt in honours in the realme, and that we haue the principall interest concerning the honour of our Miftres, and the vpholding of her greatnes and authoritie, we muſt not attend till we be entreated, and that strangers shewe ws our leſſons. That is to us heigh treason to knowe ſuch thinges and to endure them : We do not complaine of the litle account he maketh of ws, and all the Lordes of this realme, whom he eſteemeth no more then flaiwes, threatning to kill ws, now one, and then another, at ewerie worde he uttereth ; but the onworthie behauour he uſeth towards her Maieftie, and knowing

the duetie of a subiect, and the cause and grounde of his fortune, ought no sooner by us to be endured. We hawe oftentimes merwalled at your Lordshipe, most affectionat to her serwice, how you coulde hawe so greate pacience, and hawe not beene mowed with such greate outrages that you see her danielie endure, which is the cause that doeth mowe vs to addrefse our selwes vnto your Lordshipe, to knowe your intent whether it will please you to subscribe to this councell which we hawe taken to deliwer her Maiestie from the captiuitie of this younge foole, and to giwe her to husband some Lord of the cuntrie whom we shall thinke fitte, and agreeable for her, which we hawe nowe weelee adwised, and made choise of your person if you thinke the condition goode. Amongest all the rest of us there is none can accept it, some for proximitie of bloode, some for impossibilitie to be separated from ther wiwes, some others for the multitude of ther children, some others for the hatred her Maiestie beareth vnto them, albeit to her most humble and affectionat ferwantes ; you ar one of the youngest and noblest Lordes of this realme, beautifull, walian, without charge of children, honoured, respected of her Maiestie for your greate serwices past, whom shee can not weelee refuse, beinge by us chosen and presented amongst others of the nobilitie, to be companion of her croune and scepter : our praiers shall hawe force to constraine her, beinge founded vpon so goode and so apparent reasons ; for the realme being so trubled, as you see, and so manie quarrellis amongst them of the nobilitie, it shalbe no assurance vnto her to liwe wedowe, and lesse assurance to marie ane forren prince. The Scottes be composed of fuch humouris that they can not be subiect to a forreiner ; howe soone shaked they of ther nekes the yoke of Queene Marie of Lorran, her Maiesties mother, and refused ther due obedience to Frauncis the second, King of Fraunce ? Thinke you that after they be enfranchised from the tyrannie of the English, they will endure to be commanded by anie other then one of ther owen na-

tion? Will they referre them selves in ther discordes to a stranger, as they will to your Lordshippe? Marke weeke our purposes, and suffer not this occasion to slippe; it is goode fortune which offereth it selff vnto you; it will turne to your greate sorrow, to see an other heirafter enioye that which you might hawe had with the goode liking of all men.

These faire promeses in shewe made Boithwelles mouth water, and did much tickle his minde; for, he beinge wereie ambitious of nature, and much giwen to his pleasurs, he did not a little merwell and thinke of the ouverture that was then offered him, to content boith the one and the other of these passions: For his answere, after he had giwen them manie and large thankes for ther goode will, and the opinion they had of his prudence, he saide he thought him selff lesse then capable of so goode fortune, and to the which he durste newer aspire. He beganne to deplore the iniuries done to her Maiestie by her disloiale and ingratefull husbande, and the greater goode hape that it wer to him, and to all the realme, if shee could theroff be deliwered, that it should sticke vpon him, and that he wold subscribe willinglie to all that which should please the Lordes for the solace of his mistres, swearinge and protestinge to be [a] faithfull seruitour to them all his liffe, what fortune soewer might befall him: but tuiching the condition they proposéd of the mariage of her Maiestie, that he sawe not howe it might be executed, seeing he had ones alredie allied him selff in one of the greatest in the realme, which he could not by anie meanes dissolwe. To whome they againe replied, that he should take no care of that, hawing iuste occasion of diworce, and that they wold make his wiffe, and all her parents, giwe ther consentes therunto; and albeit they refuséd, yeit they wold not cease to go forder, for Boithwell had maried one of his neareſt kinred, whose cuſinge he had carnallie knownen before, and this was a moft laufull impediment of ſuch a mariage; and albeit ther wer no other caufe of divorce, yeit the repofe and peace of the realme

should content them together, that the personis of Princes ar priuiledged, which, for iuste and goode occasions, ar dispensed with all, and be not as other people subiect to the lawe ; and albeit ther wer no reason, nor apparence of reason, in the world to be separated from his wiffe, they had the ministers at ther commande, who wold make diworce as they shoulde desire : To conclude, they led on this miserable younge man by ther subtile craftes and inwentions, that he vndertoke to assault and murder the Kinge, followinge therin the adwise and councell which they gawe him cuninglie. This resolution was vndertaken, the solemne and authentike wretinges beinge first subscribed and sealed, and writen by Alexander Haye, publick notarie, after Clerk Regifter in Scotland. Murraie cometh to the Queene, and telleth her, that the Lord Dernelie her husband, the Earle of Lenox his father, and the Earle of Glencarne, with manie mo of the nobilitie, wer assembled together at Glascoue to take councell by what meanes they might deprive her Maiestie of the gowernment of the realme, and to inwest her hubande, and to take her and to confine her to perpetuall preson if shee refused to consent, and therfore he counselled her in all speede to repaire to Glascoue stronglie accompanied, to prewent ther designes.

By such reportes this foxe did thinke nothing but to alienate her minde from her hubande, and prepare and dispose her to beare moderatlie the death of him whome shee lowed dearelie, notwithstanding the feingeed rigouris and counterfutes which shee made shewe of to him. But her Maiestie, knowinge weeble the malice of Murraie, made no great account of his aduertisement, but beinge otherwise informed of his

\* Alexander Haye, physician, who ministred vnto him, saide it was poison, which the strength of his nature, he beinge of a goode complexion, did drive forthe. ficknes, and that the smalle poxe\* was broken out on him, not able to dissemble anie longer the lowe which shee bare him, tooke her iurnie towarde Glascoue to visite him, whither when shee came, shee used him werie kindlie and courteouslie, without any dislike or shewe of offences past, eand entreated him so weeble as was possible for anie woman to do,

wheroff Murraie and his complices wer no white glade, seeing the greate forrowe shee had in his death plotted by them, which might take awaie the opinion from the people of her consenting ; for this was the principall of ther desigues, to procure the suspicion of this cruell facte [to] be bruted to proceede from the Queene, and to make her become odious, and to seaze them selwes in the roiale gowernment of the state ; which after they did, pairting the pelfe amongst them, that is, spendinge the revenneus of the croune as they listed.

After shee had soiourned a while at Glascoue, and that the sicknes had runne his course, Murraie tolde the Queene that it was needful for the Kinge to be removved for the change the aire, and that the Lord B thought it werie fitte that he shoulde be ludget with the Proweift of Kirkfeilde at Edinburghe, being a place heighlie situate, pleafant, and in goode aire, inwironed with pleafant gardens, and removwed from the noise of people ; but to the contrarie, the palace stooode lawe, and by meanes of the Courte keepte ther, had greate resorte [of] people. The Queene thought this councell goode, not doubtinge anie danger, conducted thither her husband, and as shee led him by the hand to the house of the Earle of Arran, harde adioininge to the Kirke of feilde, Murraie did bid her returne, and led him to the balefull fatall ludgine, where he ended his liff : Whilleft he was ther, her Maieftie werie often visted him, not mistrustinge anie euil, whatsoewer her false ennemis faie to the contrarie. Shee lowinglie staied with her husband, giwing him all the contentment shee coulde, staying with him almost till midnicht, and about two or thrie houres after, the house was blownen vp with gunnepouder in a commone postern at a hoile, the same time that her Maieftie was there, and it was done by thoſe who muste needs therafter, (the better to culour ther desigues), ſeeme to be the rewengers of the crueltie, wheroff they wer the cheiff authouris, for the Queene goeing foorth of the ludgine to go to her palice, ſhee did

meete Paris, the Earl of Boithwallis ferwant, whom shée asked whence he came, he smelld so of gunnepouder.

The daie before the cruell deede, Murraie tooke his leawe of the Queene, feingeinge that his wiffe was so sicke in childbed that no man expected her liff one hour. But full weeble knewe he what shold be done that night, as also he did vnderstand, yea dewised it him selff, that this young Prince shold hawe beene blowne vp in a pouder traine in a place in the walie forgaint the castle gates of Stirling, onles his uncle who keepte the young Prince his sonne, repenting him selff that he gaiwe his consent to such a cruell facte, had forwarned him not to go furthe to the walie to beholde the fireshewes for feare of danger. Murraie wold faine hawe awoided all suspitione of [the] foul facte, in going to see his wiffe before her death, but his owen tounge did bewrie him to be acceffarie therunto, and knewe weeble the whole mater, so that it seemeth he was the chieffe and princi-pall dewiser, if not the executioner, for after he had taken leewe of the Queene, he saide to the Lord Harrise, this night shall the Kinge loose his liffe; which speech of his the saide Lord hath often since mantained to his face boith at home and abroade, and namelie at the citie of Yorke before the deputies of Elizabeth ther councellouris, that was acceffarie to this cruell murder: and he spoke these wordes not onlie to the saide Lorde Harrise, but he also repeated them to some of his freindes beinge embarked in a bote when as he passedower the water at theQueenes ferrie, which is an arme of the sea two miles broade betuine Edinburgh and Dunnfermeling. If he was sorie for the death of the King, as he made shewe some time after, whie did he not certifie the Queene of the conspiracie, seeing he knewe it? Whie did he not shewe the Kinge of it, and forwarne him of the danger? The least woordes of his mouth might hawe hindered this bloodie murder, and hawe saiwed the innocent princes liff, and the honour of his Queene, and the whole kingdomes.

But fithence he could not be staied at the Courte, notwithstanding all the instance her Maieftie could make, but conwoied him selff awaie almost at the time that the murder was committed, knowing weeble the maner howe it should proceede, and that he might hawe letted and hindered it by one onlie woorde, in that he declared that he was at least consenting to the crime, and that his affected absence was but to ferwe him for a maske and culloured cloake to excuse him in the fight of the world, and he wold not be at the execution, contenting him selff to hawe his agentes and ministers of his goode will, vpon whome he might affuse him selff.

The nexte daie after the actinge of this tragedie, earlie in the morninge arriweth Robert Durie, archer of the Christian kinges guarde in Scotland, sent from the archbishope of Glasewe from Fraunce, to aduertise her Maieftie of some greate intended conspiracie against either her liffe, her husbandes, or her young sonnes, or all thrie, wheroff ther was certane and sure aduertisement giwen to without specifeinge either the authours, ther names, or them and ther names against whom it was prepared.

So this parracide thus cruellie committed, diuers rumouris runne abroade throwe Edinburgh of the authours and cauffes of so damnable and cruell a treason, ewerie one iudginge and speakeinge accordinge to the goode or badde affection that he caried to the Lordes of the Courte. But the Queene, whom these afaires more concerned then anie other, ignorant of the bruites spred thorowe the citie, and not able to discower the ministres of this action, shee was forced, by sounde of trumpet, to publishe the goode will shee had to rewenge the death of her husband, and to recompence liberallie these that wold reweale the authouris of it. The neighbours of the adioining houses ar

The Earle of Argile, hereditarie Lord Chieffe iustice of the realme, had

commandement from her Maiestie, to do all his best diligence possible to learne out the truth, and to apprehend all the complices of the facte, which he tooke no care to do his duetie in his office, for he was interested in the foule facte.

In the end, by certane libellis fixed in the market place, and publict and open gates of the citie, the Earle Boithwell is defamed to be the authour and the doare of the cruell murder, and that by the meanes of those who sett him aworke: Which thing, after that it came to the Queenes eares, albeit shee could hardlie beliue such an accusation for the goode opinion shee had of him, that never before had beene delated to offend her, or her lawes, yett shee cauffed him to be taken, and putt into the handes of the iustice, that he might be proceeded against by ordour of lawe; and for this purpose, shee did make choice of those who did not favour him, and those wer Morton and Murraie, who boith after persecuted her sacred Maiestie for this woefull act with all spitefull hatred. All that wer prouided to go vpon this triale, wer of Murraies factioune and favorites: they onlie ar charged to take instruction and iudgment of the proceſſe ;— if they did cleare and absolwe him, it is ther faulte, if they knewe him culpable guiltie, they did against her commission giwen them ; and not takinge notice of the thinge accordinglie, be them felwes guiltie, and maie be supposed to be of councell and knawledge of the facte. Shee can not iuſtifie be blamed (shee being in ſuch anguifh of minde as ſhee was in for the death of her husband), for the misicareinge of the triale of that, which, by the lawes of the landes, ſhee trusted them with. Shee did not thinke, that they, whome ſhee put in trufe to trie the mater, had ſubſcribed with ther handes the write and instrument of agrement to do this wicked parricide, and ſealed the ſame approwinge it, which was ewident by Mortouns confeſſion, who ſuffered for the crime, and that beinge Protectoure and Regent Gowernour for the young Kinge in his

minoritie a long time, because he did not punishe and pursue with iuste wengeance accordinge to the lawes, which he ought to hawe putt in execution, all that wer guiltie of such heinous treasones. But because they them selwes who wer of that factioun wer guiltie, none of ther associates and complices wer punished, and so Boithwell ther copartner, against ther consciences, was absolved, not for anie goode which they did beare him, they being ewer his mortall ennemie, but to make ther mistres her selff to be suspected theroff.

But the potte of Rosts being discouered by Boithwellis death, if they had condemned him, ther guiltines, and ther mistres innocencie, should ewidentlie appeare in the eyes of the world: For this cause they dissemble werie cuninglie the malice they had in ther mindes against Boithwell, and make greate shewe of respect they hawe to his amitie, till such time as they had meanes to entangle and compasse the Queene, and make her miserable, to seafe vpon the gowernement of the croune, which was the onlie marke they shotte at. And for to make better the mishaps, and to giwe her certane argument of ther zeale and goode affection, wheroff they built ther a paradice, and that shee should no thinge doubt of that which they bruted of her, Murraie tolde her that he must needes take a woiage into Fraunce, and commended vnto her his afaires, leawinge them to her protection and faiwegarde all the meanes which he had in Scotland. But before ther partinge they must finishe the worke with the actioun like vnto the beginning, and adde a catastrophe to the tragedie conformable to the other which they had lauboured, ellis ther endeworinge laubouris should serwe to no end, if the Queene should not runne the same fortune with her husband.

'They propose vnto her werie cunninglie, the greate disordour that was in the realme by the division of the nobilitie, and the inconuenience that ariseth by the gowernement of wedowes, in regarde of the smalle meanes they hawe to put a remedie therto, onles it be by the mariage

of such a man as should be agreeable to them all who ar of the nobilitie. This ouverture thus made, and seeing that after manie affayes they had almost gained this point of her, that shée wold marie againe, and that they wolde force her to do it, they proposed vnto her, in the first place, the difficultie to rule and gowerne the people of Scotland, lowers of libertie, insolent of ther selff, and altogether onwilling to beare the yoke of a strange Prince, putting befor her eyes manie examples; and amongst others, Queene Marie her mother, a Prince so sage, vertuous, debonare, and easie to be led, as ewer was anie in the world; Fraunces 2, Kinge of Fraunce; John Baliol, of the cuntrie of Normandie, one of the first yeet of the peeres of the Scotishe bloode, whose governement was vnto them vnsupportable, not for anie other reason but for that they wer borne in a strange cuntrie. They added to these the Romans and Englishe, who, for this cause, wer newer suffered to effect ther intended conqueftes do what they could, thé wer so courageouſlie refifted, and beaten home with shame at the length; and therfore it was necessarie for her to choose ſome Lord from amongst her ſubiectis, accordinge to her heart, to whom shée ſhould by ſolemne oth, and they all binde themſelwes to reſpect, honoure, and feare, and yeeld vnto her the obeifance due to her roial Maieftie. On the contrarie, if ſhe thought to go her owen waies, and refuſe him whom all the nobilitie and people wold ſubmit themſelwes of ther own motion, ſhee ſhould owerthrowe her ſelff and her eſtate, and put all the realme into a fire of diſſention.

These entries thus made, in the end of the place the put the Earle of Boithwell, hereditarie Admirall of the realme, whome they extoll, asweele for his nobilitie as for his beautie, valour and dexteritie in warre, to her choice, like wnto whom they could not finde the like. They alledged also the goode serwices he had done for her Maiestie, being almost the onlie one of all her realme that had newer waried nor

failed of his duetie, and that had neither spared liff nor goodes for adwancement of her authoritie. To conclude, they ade the different quarrellis and mortall enmities which wer amongest the greatest parte of the nobilitie, wheroff they wold referre them selwes to her and to no other, which should be the greatest goode that ewer should befall her Maiestie. In the end, seeinge the difficultie shee made to yeelde to ther councell, as to abase her selff so much as to ioine her selff by so straite a lawe to one of her subiectes, they cauffed a certane draught of mariage to be made, which they all of them signed with ther handes, and deliwered it to Boithwell, to serwe him for his warrant in time and place. This notwithstanding, seeinge the principall exception her Maiestie tooke to withstand ther persuasiouns, was the murder of the Kinge, and the mariage contracted betuine Boithwell and the sifter of the Earle of Huntelie, and that it was contrarie to all right and reason, that shee should marie him who was thought guiltie of her former husbandis murder, as also wereie onseemlie for anie man to hawe two wiwes together being alive. To the first they answered, he was cleared of all suspition by the lawe ; and as for the seconde, ther wer manie goode and sufficient reasons for the diworce which they could procure easelie.

Seeing thus the Queene not to stand content with the diworce, they made her beliwe that the Earle of Boithwellis ladie was alredie deade, and saide nowe the mater was without all difficultie ; and the occasion was nowe offered, that Boithwell wold serwe him selff with this contract of mariage betuine him and her Maiestie, subsigned with the handes of the greater parte of the nobilitie of the realme, for so they had adwised him to do, as he was an apt scholar, being ambitious no doubtē enough of nature. They councelled the Queene to go to the castle of Sterling, to vifite her younge sonne the prince, and made Boithwell acquainted at what time shee should returne ; and in the

meane time, they wished him to lie in wmscadoe, weeble accompa-  
nied, and so he might catche her, and carie her where he wold, and force  
her to marie him ; and as he was taught he did, aspiringe to be greate.  
For while as the Queene returned from Sterling, he staid by the waie,  
weeble accompanied with a greate number of men all in armes, and  
led her to the castele of Dunnbarre, where when he had brought her,  
much against her stomake, he shewed her the contract, saying to  
her, shee must needes consent, since the nobilitie and all the people  
hold it expedient, asweel for the publicl faiwgarde of all, as for affur-  
ance of her roiale estate, promefing, in other thinges, to be her most  
humble and affectionat seruitour, as he had ewer beene, and ewer to  
acknowledege, (for the honour that he received of her Maiefie,) her his  
dreade Soweraigne; he promefed all humble obeifance for the greatness  
of his vnderferwed fortunes which he should hawe by her, and  
vnexpected, wherwith the greatest monarch of the earth might rest  
satifeed.

Thus the confortles Princes seeing her selff captiuated, and none of her  
nobilitie to come for her deliwerie and restitution agane to her former  
libertie, and on all fides affailed and importuned by the praiers and folici-  
tations of some of the greatest and most mightie of the realme, and other-  
wise affrighted with the remembrance of her husbandis murder, and her  
secretarie, and howe then shee was threatned with the danger of her  
liffe, then being bigge with childe, as it wer shaking and trembling at the  
memoriall therof, not being able to refiſt, nor knowing whom to truſt,  
nor whether to turne her ſelff, ſeeing her ſelff deſtitute of her nobilitie,  
and that they had by ther wretinges and fignes conſpired to bring this  
mariage to an end, gaiwe place, though much againſt her stomake, to  
the preſent danger and neceſſitie, affuring her ſelff no thing could  
be imputed vnto her for faulte, if anie thinge did fall out otherwife  
then weeble, vpon ther headeſ who wer the onlie and authouris and con-

trainers of her to yeelde to the mariage, which shee newer dreamed nor thought of.

The mariage thus finished, beholde the cheiffe authouris and councellouris theroff gett them selwes together vp in armes, to dazell the eyes of the people, as they had newer beene acquainted with the purpose. In ther firs<sup>t</sup> insurre<sup>c</sup>tion and tumultuous revolt, they make no shewe or signe they caried ane discontented minde against the Queene ther Mistres ; but made it be imprinted and published throwe the cuntrie ther protestation, by the which they did sweare, calling God to witnes, that they wer forced to take weapons in hand for no other occasion but to deliver her Maiestie out of the captiuicie of Boithwell, the murderer of the Kinge ; and therfore they did prai<sup>e</sup> all the faithfull ferwantes and the goode subiectes of the Croune to aide, assi<sup>t</sup> and sett to ther hand to so commendable a worke, and woorthie of men of goode fame and honestie ; which was the cause that manie men of marke, and that did not usuallie rebell, had ioined them selwes to ther fides.

The conspiracie was resolwed vpon at Dunkell, in the werie finishing of the mariage, and so came fordwarde in armes towarde Borthike castle, where the Queene was for the time ; when shee hardlie escaped by flight vnto the castell of Dumbarre, whither shee commanded so manie as wold yeelde her obedience to come in armes, to resist her betraiers and traitourous ennemis, who subtillie had brought her in this greate danger, and the cuntrie to be thus trubled. Wnto her came spedelie a goode companie of men, as might vpon such a sudden assemble them selwes together for the defence of ther Prince. Shee came fordwarde with her forces to Carbarrie hill, thinkinge no subiect durst be bolde to stande in the fight of ther Prince in armes ; but it fell out contrarie to her expectation, for the rebellis that fought her so farre, came fordwarde in armes with desplaied banere.

Thus the two armies, being ranged in battell and readie to come

and encounter the rebelles, sent vnto her Maiestie William Kirkealdie of Grange to declare vnto her, in all humilitie, that they could not see her so capitiwed and held in subiectio[n], as it were a flaiwe to Boithwell the murderer of the Kinge : and if it wold please her Maiestie to forsake him, and to come to them, they protested, with infinite othes, they wold continowe and rest her Maiesties most affectionat and faithfull ferwantes more then ewer before, and more then Boithwell or anie other. The Queene, wondering of that which was spoken of Boithwell, whom at ther instant praiers and thretes shee had wedd and espoused, and whom now they blamed of that cruell murder, became amazed, hawinge neither care nor regarde what shoulde become of her selff: shee commanded Boithwell to retire him selff from her presence, saying, his cause was neither goode nor honest, for as begunne in mischeffe, so he had gone fordwarde ; and so shee came to the rebellis, thinkinge they wold be as goode as ther woorde, and keepe touches with her Maiestie ; and this was done 15 June 1567.

This yeelding her selff in the handes of her disloiale subiectis, whose treacherie so often shee had tried, hath beene her beginninge to her latter ruine, and brought her Maiesties most faithfull subiectes to greate truble since, for shee had meanes enough to punishe ther pride, if shee had keepe her selff out of ther handes. But shee said, shee wold not hawe the bloode of her subiectis shed, and shee trusted to ther solemane sworne promise made by Grange in ther name, who thought not that they wold hawe broken with her, nor wished him to carie a mesage that they newer meant to keepe, making him an instrument to betraie his Princes in ther handes. But he perceiwinge treacherie, and that his honour was stained, he tuke notice theroff, albeit too late, and turned himselff to her Maiesties fide, and since did her Maiestie goode ferwice in keeping the strong holde, the castle of Edinburgh, to her Maiesties behowe, thinkinge one daie to see her Maiestie adwansed to her former

roiale estate. He wold newer yeelde this fortrefle to her Maiesties rebellis, for that they had so treacheroufle deceiwed him in the foirfaides promefes towardes his foweraigne, when he was enwironed in the castle foirfaide by the Queenes rebellis, and Elizabeth ther defendrefle in treacherie had sent them aide, and boith did affaulte him, and batter the fortrefle for the space of two yeares, shooting in that space 12000 shooftes of greate canon and ordinance, besides manie mo smaller shotte, he hardlie was driwen by composition to yeelde him selff and the houfe, not to Morton, nor his mistres rebellis for the cause foirfaide, but to Elizabeth, who promefed him his saiftie of his liff and his brothers, together with ther landes, and whatsoewer ellis did belong vnto them, and to departe, as the prouerbe is, with bagge and baggage : But howe weele shee keepte promefe you maie see by this, that when they had yeelded them felwes to her, shee put them in the handes of the false traitour Morton, her right eie and ther deadlie enemie, contrarie not onlie to all faith and conscience, but also to all ciwile and militarie discipline, hanged them boith vpon a gibbet.

The abominable traitouris, hawinge the Queene as a preie in ther handes, without much ado led her to Edinburgh, careinge before her a banner, wherin was painted her deade husband, and the young Prince at her feete cryinge for wengeance ; and this they did the more to spitte her, and make her die for exceedinge greiffe, sorowe and outrage. They had prepared this baner, hawing it in readines to shewe her the wofull spectacle, assuring them felwes shee wolde yeelde and come to them so foone as shee should beholde the spectacle, in an image of the parricide of her former husband by Boithwell ; wherein you maie [see] their treason premeditated. Nowe, being come to Edinburgh, they encamp themselwes within the roiale palice, stronglie fenced with men of armes. They put the Queene ther mistres to ludge with the proweft of the toune, and apointed a companie of

commone souldiouris to watche her boith day and night. Ower foir-against her ludgine they spred abroade the foirfaide banner, and left ther mistres without ladie, or maide of honour, or chammerlane, or anie grome to attende her in her neede. All the night longe they robbed her mowables, and all that was in her Maiesties roiale palice: all the roiale furnitour and ornamenteis of the croune wer maid hawoke of, wheroff some of greate price and walewe Murraie deliwered to Elizabeth in England, and some to her councell, and other some was sent in Fraunce and Flaunder, and ther made monie of to help them ford-warde in ther treacherous rebellioun. In the morning betimes shee was attired with . . . . . of a . . . . . which came hardlie doun to her Maiesties knees, and sett vpon a haiknie without anie roiale furnitour, and be chance was founde feeding in a medowe, and shee is caried to the castle of Lochlewin, beinge situat with [in] a freshe water deepe laike in circuit fixe miles, hawing no entrie but by boate, so that now they ar sure of her person to dispose of it at ther pleasour. The owner of this house was Murraies wombe brother, who with Marre his uncle, Lindedesai, Mortoun, and the rest of that treacherous crewe, who intended nowe to adwance this cruell bastarde to the roiale croune and scepter, thought it best shee should be strangled betuine the quiltis of her bed, and after to make it be blaſed abroade shee had hanged her selff with her owen handes, fearing shee should hawe come to triale of iustice and so be dispatched: others, more politicke, thinkinge this crueltie wold make them be suspected of the people, and that ther was an other more pleasaunt waie to come to the accomplishment theroff. But all ther desigues be odious, not to proceede anie farther till Murraies comming, that he might be ther partner in so dangerous an action; for albeit no thinge paffed till that time but vnder his name and authoritie, as beinge cheiffe and authour of the league, yeet so it is, that as traitours mistruste one another, they feare his coming, and that more easelie to obteine his pur-

pose, he wold make as if he wer offended for the badde entreatie of his fister, and in the meane while he wolde demaund iustice and wengeance, althought nothinge [haid?] more contented him then to hawe her quitlie dispatched out of hand. Murraie was then in Fraunce negotiatinge with Admirall Collignie howe he should hawe the cardes shuffled, that is, howe he should behawe and carie him selff to attaine to the croune of Scotland. The Christian kinge Charles 9, the Lordes of Guise, and all the greateft of the peeres of Fraunce, shewed him werie goode countenance, and finding ther favour, he promesed to sett his fister frie at her owen libertie to enioye her roiale authoritie, and to appease thosse that wer rewolted from her obedience, and make them acknowledge her Maiesties scepter.

In this meane while Murraie receiweth letters from his affociates the rebellis, by the meanes of Elizabeth and her ambaffadouris, commanding him with all diligence to returne home into England, first to hawe notice what his goode freinde Elizabeth, what he must do towardes his fister, and then into Scotland to sett forward thinges as they had begunne, for his better adwancement. But he at the first doeth neither obeie his complices commandement, nor followeth ther councell, and therefore, he thought best to cleare him selff of anie malice towardes his fister: he returnes them with all speede, by the same meanes he received ther letters together with Elizabethes, an answer willinge them, by all meanes possible, out of hande to ridde his fister out of the waie before his cominge, for so long as shee liwed he should never return, nor yeet they see him. But yeet his goode freindis and affociates thought if they followed his directions in this point, the treason wold be too manifest to all the world, and the excuses they could make to him at his return, (for they doubted not but Elizabeth could make him come home,) should content and satisfie him; for if without the assamble of the estates, hawing her person in their owen custodie in Murraies

wombe brothers keeping in a stonge holde, they shold attempte to  
greate a enterprise, they could not aunswere it, but all the people wold  
crie out on them. And that they might the better content him, as he  
desired them by the meanes of Elizabeth, an act is concluded, and done  
by constraint and faire promeses, by which it is notifeid to the subiectes,  
that the captiwe Queene dismiffed her selff of all governement of the  
realme, leawinge the croune and all the roiale authoritie to the younge  
Prince her sonne, affigninge vnto him for his regent and tutour the  
false double hearted traitour Murraie, whome they willed and com-  
manded to be named and called Regent to the King, and all his sub-  
iectes and whole realme.

This act, thus framed and procured by Elizabeth and her councell,  
shee thinkinge the captiwe Queene her cuſinge wold not so easelie yeelde  
vnto, as they desired, fent vnto her Maiefie Nicholas Throgmorton, ane  
weele acquainted with ſuch deepe diſembling, deliweringe by him vnto  
her cuſinge letters full of counterfute ſorrowe and greiffe, which ſhee  
ſaid ſhee tooke for her miſfortune, promefing her all favour, ſuccour,  
and aide, and that ſhee wold come to her in her owen person, leading  
with her a ſtronge and mightie armie, to ſett her at libertie, reſtoringe  
her to her former authoritie, if her subiectes wold not do her reaſon.  
But in the meane while, being certifeid and informed that they wold  
compell her to yeelde vp her croune to her ſonne, and that they wold  
kille her if ſhee refuſed, for the amitie which ſhee had ſworne and  
woued vnto her, and for the deſire ſhee had to ſaiwe her from ſuch  
inconveniencie, and in ſpecialle her liſt, ſhee ſend her ambaffadour to  
certifie her of the danger ſhee froode in, and to declare vnto her, that  
this act could not in anie waies turne to her preiudice, it beinge by  
force and violence, as it wer, extorted, ſhee then being in preſon, and  
in the handes of her ennemis, and therfore ſhee did instantlie praiſe  
her to yeelde to the neceſſitie of the time, and to ſaiwe her ſelff by  
granting them ther demaundes.

This sudden meffage and aduertisment wee sheweth, that nothing was done by Murraie and his complices, without the direction of Elizabeth and her dewilishe councell, who by all meanes ewer did fecke and procure the ruine of this poore ladie. And the rebelles likewise, not vnmindfull of the busines they had in hand, do send vnto her Maestie, nowe captiue in Lochlewin, Lindefaie, a raging, furious, rude, ignorant man in the afaires of the Estate, and one who, except the outward shape, hath no thing belonginge to a man, for, touching the rest, he was blokishe and brutish, no thing differing from the beaste. Marcus Varro speaketh of thus, that the liffe was giwen it for falte to hinder the flesh from corruption; for when he commeth to the presence of his Soweraigne Ladie and Mistres, he entereth on his fashon rudlie, without making anie obeisance, without doinge anie rewerence in gestour of bodie, without all preface of honour, and without anie showe that he ewer had beene her ferwant or subiect, and saide he was send vnto her by the nobilitie, who wold hawe her to signe that act, which he had in his hand, and that shee should yeelde vp the croune to the King her sonne, and if shee wold, he tolde her, it wer but to a freinde shee did it, but if shee wold not resigne and signe the act, he wold by confrant and waie of facte do boith, nill shee will shee, if shee made newer so litle scruple.

To whose blokifhe speeche shee made this answere, that shee held no thinge neither of her sonne nor of the nobilitie, and that the Croune came to her by right of inheritance and succeſſion, and not by guift from her subiectes; and that on the contrarie, the nobilitie had no thinge in Scotland, but her and her progenitouris, and therfore shee did not a litle merwell of ther impudence and greate ingratitud towardeſ her, who hath ſo often pardonneſ them and forgiuen them ther treacheries, when ſhee had iuste occaſion and power to hawe rooted out them and ther posteritie, either by armes or by waie of iufties; but in place theroff, of her owen accorde and gentle nature, to do them goode, and

make them aknowledge ther duetie to her, he had spoiled the better parte of the patrimonie of the Croune, and the revenueus theroff ; shee had adwanced them to honour, and enriched them and her selff by this meanes made vnable to liwe as becometh a Prince of her estate and callinge ; and speciallie Murraie, Morton and Marre, the cheiffe plotters and dewisers of all the treacheries and treasons committed against her and her husband ; all the goode I did vnto them could not content them, but in steade of aknowledginge my bountie and manie benefites done to them, they wold nowe leawe her nothinge, but by violence bereiwe of the small remainder, seeking to robbe her of her liff, honour, wealth, and all in a moment. Shee saide shee knewe weeble the butte they shotte at was neither the adwancement nor profite of her sonne, nor yeet the publict goode and quiete peace of the realme, but the infatiable desyre that her bastarde brother had to be King ; who, albeit he so wer adwanced besides his desertes, yeet he could not be so goode, and so naturallie kinde to her sonne as shee. It should be a hard case to take the gowernement from the mother, that knewe howe to commande, and howe to uise it, and by longe experiance had learned howe to manage the affaires of the state, and who, for the time past, had moderated the yoke, that no person had iuste occasion to complaine they had beene pressed owermuch, or troden vnder foote, to yeelde it to her sonne, not yeet a yeare olde, who, for a longe time to come, could not be able to discerne goode from euill ; to satififie ther desires, it was not fitte that a cruell bastarde, mortall ennemie to the mother, should hawe the superintendencie and noble guarde of the sonne, and not shee that was the lawfull heire of the realme, and mother of the infant, whose guarde, God, the lawes, custome, and nature itselff, gaiwe vnto her ; and therfore shee ought not, nor wold not, subscribe nor consent wnto such an onlawfull demand, as to resigne and quite the right and title which God and nature had giwen her.

Lindesay, beinge like vnto him selff, had no pacience to attend the end of the Queenes speach, but alewtrie chaungine his speech did interrupt her, chaunging also his countenance, bending his browes, and frowninge with his face, shaking his heade with an angrie laughter, gawe ewident signes of an vnstable and furious minde ; and after manie iniurious and blasphemous wordes against her Maiestie, swearing execrablie and denyinge his God, if shee did not foorthwith signe with her hand this act, that he wold signe it with her bloode, and seale it vpon her heart, and after throwe her into the lake at the foote of the castle, to feede fishes, in steade of a grawe to burie her in.

Notwithstanding all the constancie this Princes hath ewer held before, and all her anguiishes and adwersities, hath had an invincible minde in all her actiouns, yeit so it fell out, that being nowe striken with the apprehencion of deathe, and seeing no meanes to helpe her selff in such a violence, and weeke knowinge the humour of the barbarous inhuimane man, disloiale, bloodie, and without all feare of God or lawe, dissemblinge her choler and passiouons of her minde, shee gawe place to present necessitie, and subsigned this mischeivous act, not enquiringe or readinge the contentes of it, nor the meanes that shoulde be lefte vnto her for her estate : shee praied him onlie this much, werie earneſtlie, to do her one favoure, as shee had done M<sup>r</sup> Robert Melvin, that was sent vnto her, (as I will tell yee heirafter,) to tell in her behalfe thosē of the nobilitie, that shee entreated them that it might be ther goode pleafur at the leaſt, to heare her iustifications in ther councell, or in the assemblie of the Estates, to whose iudgement shee wold submitt her selff in all wheroff the could accuse her, so much did [she] relie and affiure herſelff vpon the puritie of her conscience and innocencie ; promefing them, in the faith of a Prince, in case ſhee wer found culpable in anie forte of the murder of her deceased husband, either by knowledge or consent, ſhee, not claiming the priwiledge or authoritie of a Queene, wold not

refuse such punishment as they should impose and appoint. This request was often refused her, for they had the preie in ther handes, and so gaiwe a deafe eare to her requestes, and flooted and mocked, yea often threatned them with death that did speak so much as one woord in her Maiesties favour. Ther be some letters to be seene, subscribed with Murraies owen hand, in the which he aunswere her, that shee could not be harde ewerie time. That her Maiestie sawe her selff so refused, shee saide shee was in the number of these who hungred and thirfted after iustice, which was by her owen subiectes denied her, but her goode and mercifull God one daie wold do her iustice, and heare her iust praiers.

Lindesaie, returning with affaires dispatched, not so much as thanking her Maiestie, nor taking his leawe as it became him, like a sensles sott, comminge to the rest of the treacherous societie of traitoures, rejoiceth with them, for that they had no neede, before Murraies returne, to passe anie furder, and practise ther crueltie vpon the person of her Maiestie, as they had fullie concluded, if shee had refused to subscribe dimission and resignation of the Croune, to be ruled and governed by the faide Murraie, as they had determined.

Then Athole and Lethington, principall secretarie of Estate, albeit they wer partners in the conipiracie for her emprefonment, yett feeinge ther complices fought no thing but ther own particulars, they repented them selwes, and returned to the partie of the Queene, and did adverteſe her by Maifter Robert Melvin, prayng her most instantlie to yelde to the onciwile and iniuste demandes of a parte of the nobilitie, to prevent greater inconveniences, and to pardon them selwes in the fault they had committed, in sufferinge them selwes to be so farre abused as to follow the traitoures, who had ewer sworne and protested vato them, that they attempted no thing against her Maiesties person, and they wold onlie do all against Boithwell, and thoſe who proditorious

lie, by night and priwie watch, murdered the King ther maister : they saide forder, that her subscribing such an act, shée being in preson, and restrained of her libertie, could not in anie waies be preiudicall to her, for the goode reasons they gaiwe her by wreete to understand, and therfore it wer best to saiwe her selff till a forder occasion, for thinges might chainge ; and in token of ther faithfull and true minde towrdes her Maiefie, they sent her a faire golden ringe, sett with a torquase.

This adwife, giwen her Maiefie by the Earle of Athol and Secretarie Lethington, did much amaze and astonishe the Queene, and cauffed her the more easelie yeelde to the petition of her rebelles ; and other-wise I knowe not, (albeit shée knewe Lindefaie to be a dewilish swollen lumpe, altogether dispossesed of reason and vnderstandinge,) whether shée so foone wold hawe yeelded vnto his blasphemous suites and pettiounes.

The rebelles, haiwing ther determinatioun signed by the Queene, assembled them selwes together at Sterline, wherethé sett the roiale croune vpon the Princes heade, that could not yett speake, and knewe not what they did was to his greate preiudice, with intention shortlie after to defraud him theroff, and to take awaie after his liffe and croune, as they had alredie the croune from his mother. In this commotion, it is not needfull to enquire whether the ceremonies, in such caces required and used, wer regarded, as the auncient lawes and obserwances of the realme desired, that commande such a thinge to be done in a generall assenble of all the estates ; but ther was onlie at this action fewen persons that had woice in Parliament, and these no men of marke, but of the least renoune and lowest degrie amongst the nobilitie.

The newes of all these treacheries comming to the hearinge of James Betoun, Archbishop of Glascoue, ordinarie ambaffadour for her Maiefie in Fraunce, who was a man woorthie not onlie of such a charge, but also to gowerne a councell, and rule in Estate, and conduct in the

weightiest afaires of the greatest monarch in the world, he shewed vnto the Christian Kinge and his councell, in greate frequencie, werie grawelie, the whole mater as it was done, and that Murraie was the cheiff dewiser, conductour and executour of all the treacherous conspiracies and treasons practised against the maiestie, honour and liffe of his Mistres ; praying in the meane while his Maiestie to staie him, and not to beliwe his faire promeses, which he made onlie to deceiwe, but wold newer keepe on worde forder nor should stand for his owen goode, he hawing made the contrarie to Admirall Colignie, which he wold not faill inviolablie to keepe, for the forder advancement of the cause of the rebelles of Fraunce and Scotland. Murraie, hearing by some of his favourites, howe he was like to speed if he staied to answere, knowinge him self guiltie of these imputatiouns, in all haifte getteth him to his speede, and leaweth Fraunce, and posteth into England, to conferre with Queene Elizabeth and her councell in the adwise the said Admirall had giwen him, and heirupon to take certane resolution.

Elizabeth and her councell, knowing howe all thinges went in Scotland, and howe her cuinge was nowe keepte sure, and lookinge forder to her goode likinge by the serwice to be done her by this Judas, who was the onlie cause of the betrayinge of his Mistres, hath nowe a newe promese made vnto him, for the continuation of the paiement of 4000 tbs. Starlinge, to be weelee paid him, as it was used to be, with assurrance of her aide, fawour and succour, in all his interprisces, willing him to post into Scotland in all haifte, which he did accordinglie. And ther arriwinge, tooke notice of the course of his affaires in his absence, and seeinge his designes furthered besides his expectation, he beganne foorthwith to put of his maske of hypocrisie, showinge to the world his difloialtie, and the litle faith which men of his treade and crafte take of ther othes as he did of his made to the Kinge of France and the Lordes of Lorrane, he obliging him selff to God and man, and accep-

inge manie faire jewelles, they all gawe him besides greate sowmes of golde. At his first arriwall he calleth a Parliament, albeit he hadno power so to do, to ratifie and approue the negotiatiounes of his complices, which they had done for him in his absence, to the preuidice of the Queene, the Prince her sonne, and the state of the whole realme.

This convocatioun and assamble of the Estates, was more solemne then others that they made since or before this time; for, to the end no thinge might be wanting to this buildinge, and that ther maner of proceedinge might not be declared neue and unlauffull, for wante of ceremonies which hawe ewer vnder the Kinges or ther liwetennantes beene accustomed in such case to be religioustlie obserwed, they cauffed thither to come, to represent the ecclesiasticall estate and spiritualitie, the venerable often periured and foirsworne father, Mr Adam Boithwell, whom for this purpose they beforehand helped him to be made bishope of the Orcades, a camelion, a forcerar and execrable magitian, a perfect atheist, and for manie causses much exclamed vpon by the comoune people, who, him selff being vpon the conspiracie of the rebellious traitours, was chosen by them to solemnize the mariage of ther brother Boithwell with the Queene, and after cauffed him to blame it and speake against it at Yorke, in the assamble before the commissioners, whom Elizabeth had apointed to take knowledge of the cause then in question. This worthie prelate, accompanied with two or thrie abbotes and priours, of the same stampe [with] him selff, was all Murraies neare kinred or allies, represented the spirituall Estate: God knoweth howe weeble the church was represented by such treacherous people, foirsworne atheistis and whoremasters, and worse if worse could be.

The greatest of the realme, and who had greatest interest in the afaires to be propounded by Murraie, wer not present, persuadinge themselwes that the rebelles wold be the stronger partie, and that they should gaine no thinge, but be contradict, because iustice should take no

place. Yeet the Earles of Huntlie and Argile, with the Lord Harrise and some other Lordes, came thither, and vndertooke an act of opposition, asweele to the dimission made by the Queene, as for the erection of the saide Murraie to be Regent and gowernour of the realme ; saying and alledging that the subscription of her Maiestie, by him showne and produced, could not be a sufficient warrant for the Estates in a mater of so greate weight and importance, for it was gotten of her against her minde, shee being threatned therunto throwe feare of imminent death, and, therfore, they saide they could not, nor wold not, approue as goode in lawe in ther consciences, a mater of so great consequence done in her captiuitie, if they did not see her at owen libertie of her owen accordе villinglie, and that by the adwise of the Estates, do all these things. But for all this, ther oppofitiouns and ther remonstrances tooke no place, and wer no thinge woorth ; force had the vpper hand ower righte, and the traitouris exceeded in number the true subiectes and serwantes of the croune. It is not therfore to be merwaled if the conclusion of the mater turned to Murraie and his complices goode likinge, for the lawfull inheretrix of the croune is depriwed of her estate roiale, and in shewe for a infant is adiudged to the baistarde Murraie, a double and false hearted traitour to God and man.

But before we passe anie furder, let us confider the difsembling and cunning of the rebellious traitouris. At the first interprise, they falle saide and waunted they wer the Queenes moft affectionat serwantes, and that they had taken weapons in hand onlie to deliwer her from the captiuitie of Boithwell, to whome onlie they wished wengeance and punishment, asweele for the rawishment of her Maiestie, as for the murder and affafination of the Kinge ther maister ; protesting with moft fearefull and horrible othes, when the saide Boithwell was retired, to laie ther weapons aside, and to giwe her the serwice, honour and

respect due to ther foweraigne Ladie and Mistres. But after that ther princes had, in ower greate simplicitie, credited and beleiwed them, dismising her armie, lewing Boithwell to do for him selff as he could, and come in person to them, then hawinge her in ther handes, they make no more account of Boithwell ; they put her in a cage ; they leawe Boithwell to his easse and rest ; they fuffered him manie monethes together to liwe peaceable after in the cuntrie, and that in place so neare and adioining vnto them, that if they had so much desire, as they made shewe of, to punishe him, they might hawe done it.

But if they had beene too busie, they feared all the mysterie of iniquitie should hawe beene laide open, and ther knawerie discouered ; then the Queenes innocencie beene made knownen, had cutte the throate of all ther treacherous designes, and they had beene discreditied for ewer. Nowe, like the scholars of ther father Machiwell, they thinke it the fairest waie for them to keepe them selwes abowe, whether they wer climed they be content to change the subiect of ther malice and the person, and grounde ther rebellious enterprises vpon the Queene, sayinge they demaunded iustice of the death of the King ; they speake no more of Boithwell, (for the causses foirsaid,) who was therin but ther executioner ; they betake themselwes to ther Mistres, as if shee had beene the onlie authour of this abominable crime ; they charge her with it, and for prowe theroff, and to make Boithwell afraied, that he might be gone and retire him selff foorth of the cuntrie, they killed certan gentlemen innocent of the fact ; and certane serwantis of Boithwellis, guiltie of the heinous crime, wer executed to death, after they had beene extraordinarielie racked, to drawe some one woorde, if they could be driwen therto throwe the paine of the torment, althought not true in the selff, against ther Mistres, after ewerie blowe and stroake of the bitle or hammer, askinge whether ewer her Maiestie had spoken to them of the facte, or commaunded the murder of her husband. O God, beholde

what notable iustice ! in steade of extortinge the thorowe knownen truth, they laubour with tooth and naile to seduce a false blasphemous accusation, and by force of tormentes laubour to make a prowe, seekinge to corrupt witnessses, suggeſtinge to them a thinge newer done nor thought vpon by them whom they thinke by this meanes to entrapē. Such people hawe newer studied the lawes howe they ought to hawe proceeded in the true waies and beaten pathes of true dewote iustice.

But who hath ordeined this inquifition ? who is the iudge ? who is cheiff and president theroff ? who be the affistantes ? who be the accusers ? All the Queenes mortall ennemis, boith iudges and others, ewen the werie dewifers, furtherars, fordwardfetters, councelloures, practifers and butchers of her husband. Who ewer hard of ſuch iuftice ! Though they tormented these poore creatouris, they themſelwes who cauſed them to be tormented, wer as woorthie to hawe vndergone the ſame triale, and to hawe taifled of the ſame ſauce. But notwithstandinge anie torment they could uife, to bringe foorth ſo much as one woord against her Maiestie to her preiudice, they wold newer accufe her, ſaying often, fie vpon ſuch crueltie, they wold not ſpeake againſt her to condemne themſelwes to the deuil, do what they wold againſt ther bodie, ther foules was Godis.

They often protested and fwore her innocencie, ſaying that her Maiestie was altogether ignorant of the enterprise, and that Murraie, Morton and ther partners and complices wer the authouris theroff, and ſubſcribed and ſigned it with ther handes the facte and the execution of the cruelle deede, and that manie times they had ſeenethe firgnes and the instrument of all the whole complete in the handes of the Earle of Boithwell ther maiftre ; and that the principall of theſe mennes freindes and adherentes affifted, and freindes helped with ther handes the execution of the cruelle murder, the wengeance and punishment wheroff nowe they made ſhewe to prosecute vpon ther bodies, wheras

they themselwes wer more deeplie therin interested then they ; which thing [they] wowed to declare solemnlie at ther executiouns before all the people, telling the truth then as thè looked to be faiwed ; and so they wer as goode as ther woerde at ther last breth, cursing and banninge Murraie and all his complices, that had so betraied them and ther maistres, after they had sett them a worke.

They greatlie charged Mr Archebald Douglas, neare kinnisman to Morton, to be the principall actour in this damnable murder, whom these goode consonable iudges did newer urge, nor ones name in the proceesse of ther verbale question in controuerfie nowe debated, for that it wold hawe blotted some of hie place, for whom then he then was in place ; but yeit nevertheleffe the saide Mr Archebalde, by manie letters wretin with his owen hand to his mistres since her detention in England, yea, since the execution of Morton, hath adwouched and declared that [he] knewe not onlie the intention of Murraie and Morton allone, and others of the nobilitie ther confederates, touchinge the death of her husband, but also hath acknowledged his faulte for beinge ther by ther commandement and solistatioun at the deed doinge ; which he communicated before to Secretarie Lethington for the parte of the saide Morton, to the intent to assure that he had no hope to do it in despite of her, but by an other meanes.

This proceeding against Boithuellis serwantes terrifeed him selff so much, that he beganne to looke to him selff, and proceeded to take the sea, sailinge alonge the coaste ; but the conspiratouris seeinge that he retired not, but that he wandered vp and doun from one place to an other, without anie signe and demonstratioun to abandon the cuntrie, they noised it abroade that he was become a pirate and scourer of the sea ; and therfore they rigged and furnished foorth some shippes to keepe him in, which thinge they might hawe werie weeble done if they wold ; but they werie weeble content to make a showe, not at all assaulting him, to make him begone

out of the cuntrie : And so by longe wanderinge vpon the sea, he landeth in Denmarke, where beinge knownen by some Scottishe merchantes, he was taken and empresoned, where, after he had liwed in that state some ten yeares, he departed this liffe, confessinge his grievouse crime, askinge pardon of God in a most deepe and bitter remorse of conscience, blaminge and rewilinge the first authouris of it, whome he named by ther names and furnames, and in the presence of a Bishope and other Lordes of Denmarke, who wer present at his death, and wer witnesles of his last woordes; in the which he did discharge the Queene his mistres of the facte imposed to her by those who wer the principall authouris and actoures in it: he confessed the murder by him committed, and the mariage with his mistres, and the maner of proceedinge in all this busines, to hawe been enterprised and ended by the adwise of Murraie and Morton, and ther adherents, as is alredie abowe faide.

These thinges beinge maters of such a hie consequence, wer faithfullie receivewd from Boithwellis owen mouth by spciall commande from the Kinge of Denmarke, and after they wer related to the Kinge, sent by him to the most of the Princes of the Christianitie, but namelie to Queen Elizabeth, who could in no waies excuse her cruell tyrannie in mantaininge the false traitouris against her conscience, to accuse ther mistres, her nearest kinnifwoman, of such a heinous crime, wheroff shee was innocent. But we will referwe this mater to the owen place, and returne againe to our first digression.

After the Generall Assemblie of the states broken vp, Murraie, seeinge himselff in the hiest degrie of his fortunes, and that nowe he wanted no thinge but the croune of a Kinge, as the affectiouns of men newer end in the begininge of the thing they desire, but it ordinarilie hapneth that the succeſſe of an vnhoped goode ones atchiwed engendereth hope of a greater, for this wicked sonne of Agar, not contented of his estate, and seeinge that he had to deale with an infant whom he had in his power,

afweele as his mother, to dispose of ther persons, if and when he pleased, and that ther no thinge remained nowe but to come and gett the people to hawe an goode opinion of his desigues, he beganne to call himself the laufull begotten sonne of King James 5 deceased, and that his mother was the Kinge his father true and laufull wiff, and that ther was promese of mariage betuine them before the mariages after contracted, and that that appeared by laufull actes and autentike instrumentes that wer to be founde, yeit within the recorde of the officialitie of St Andrewes, when neede required, and that that promese was not, waine nor frustrate in that the effect theroff followed in that it was fullie accomplished by carnall copulation and procreation of children, the true testimonies of mariage. Marke the faire speeches he used to waunt of amongst his freindes that he thought lowed him weeble, that they might blasfe the same abroade amongst the people. He thought by these meanes to supplant the true bloode roiale, and to turne the peoples affection not onlie from the Queene, but also from the Prince her sonne. But this so much failed him for adwancinge of his cause, that by this his shameles lie, on the contrarie wer therby sturred vp not a fewe of the greatest which before had assifted him to forsake him ; for if his mother, (thought they with themselwes), had beene the laufull wiff of Kinge James 5, as he impudentlie pretended, then had Ladie Magdal'en Valoys, the eldest daughter of Fraunce, and Ladie Marie of Lorran, beene no thinge ellis but strumpettes and harlettes, and not the Kinges laufull wiwes, and Queene Marie and her sonne had been but bastardes, and coulde pretend no right to the realme of ther father.

These propositiouns beinge urged with his dewilish intention to put the younge Prince to death, followinge the councell given him in England, if he could not come otherwise to the heade of his desigues, was the cause that manie noblemen and gentlemen soundinge ther conscience lefte him, and amongst others this greiwed so much the Earle of Athol and the

Lord of Hume, and others of marke, that they altogether forfooke Murraies pairete, repenteinge themselwes too late that they had helped to exalt him, and wer led by such a gule that could not be contented with the honour he had to be reputed the naturall sonne of King James the fifte, but must needes also be Kinge in his place as his laufull sonne, when as he was nothinge lesse, beinge the sonne of one Porterfeild chalmer groome to the Lord Erskine. But for all this, he wanted not agentis in his busines and promoters of his designes, who did giwe out vnto the world, that simple and naked mariage is not awailable contract, althought it be confirmed with carnall copulation and procreation of children, if you hawe made anie former promese or contract to anie other person, the first carieth it awaie. By this meanes, to strengthen the pretended mariage alledged by Murraie, and to inweiste him with the croune, to defraude Queene Marie and her sonne, it was necessarie to sett this doctrine for goode and sounde abroach. Besides the false bruites and defamatorie libelles made against the Queene and her murdered husband, they faide they doubted whether the begettinge of the sonne ought to be attributed to the Kinge, or to the secretarie Dauid Rizzio. See the shamlesse impudencie of the dewilish men, who, albeit a litle before they had crouned him and aknowledded him for ther laufull Kinge, yeet nowe they chaunge ther minde, for indirect respectes not besyiminge true christianes.

Knox. Other absurde pointes, for the better furtherance of Murraie in his attemptes, wer constantlie helde and diwulg'd, as that it was not laufull for wemen to gowerne and rule kingdomes and commoun'e wealthes, and the croune ought not to go by succession, but by election. But to what end wer these goodlie axiomes propos'd, but to defraud Queene Marie and her sonne of the croune, and to sett it vpon the bastardes heade, subuertinge all auncient politie of kingdomes and commoun'e wealthes in the cheiffe fundamentall pointes, takinge awaie the force of

Buchannan.

the old customes and lawes so religiouſlie obſerued from all antiquitie in all ages. No merwell that Murraie did challenge the croune, and become as it wer infatuate and insolent in aspiringe to attaine it by these goodlie iuglinge trickes; for on a time when he went to Lochlewen where the Queene was in the keepinge of her wombeborne brother, his cariage towardes her as of a King towardes his ſubiect, without anie dewe regarde of honour or respect vnto her person, which, when diuers did ſee his insolent dewilishe pride, mowed them to take pitie and compaffion of the noble ladies diſtrefſed eſtate, and amonegeſt others, the faid Murraies youngeft wombe borne brother was ſo mowed thairat, that therafter he fought all oportunitie, and left no thinge vndone to ſett her frie of her emprefonment, which he thus brought to goode effect: firſt, Murraies youngeft brother George Douglas, grudgine to ſee her Maiefie ſo euil entreated by thoſe who ſhould not hawe doone it, did winne and gaine ſome of the Queenes gwairde to his opinion to ſett the Queene frie, and amonegt others ane Williame Douglas, a youth of 16 or 17 years of age, who carefullie tooke oportunitie when he eſpied a fitte time: And vpon Sundae the feconde of Maie, when the maifter of the house, Murraies eldeft wombe borne brother, did fitte at table at denner, the keies wer conweied from vnder him out of his chire, wher he did ſitte by the faid youth: they shutte the gates fast after them, and locke all fast within the caſtle, ſo that none could follow them; they tooke a little boate and brought the Queene faiwe to the bankes of the lake, where a goode compagnie did expeſt her Maiefies comminge, and ſo ſhee was ſtreighe waie conwoyed to the caſtle of Hamilton.

In this meane while was Murraie poolinge and peelinge the poore ſubiectes, hanginge by the purſe theſe that could bringe him monie wer ther offence newer ſo greate, but others by the necke albeit ther faulte wer newer ſo ſmalle, that brought him not monie. Such was the lowe

he had to iustice in the keeping of his iustice sesson then at Glascoue, that God seeinge his wiked designes, to staie him of his wicked courses, gawe an other busines to busie him about: for in this meane while, the newes of the Queenes deliwerie comminge to his eares maketh him amazed, and brings him in such a rage and furie throwe astonishment, that he knoweth not to what hand to turne him. But after he had recovered him selff of his passiouns, he sendeth in all haifte to his fellowe complices and traitours, Morton, Glencarn, Marre, Lindesaie, Ruthwen, Sempill, Ochiltrie, Cathcart and Glames, with manie others: On the parte [of] the Queenes subiectes, true in hearte, came in all haifte to her Maiesties succour and aide, who wer the families of Hammilton, Leving-stoun, Campbell, Fleming, Bruce, the Earle of Rothus, the Lord Harrise, the Lairde of Wachton, Balwerie, Lochinwer, with diuerse others: The Earle of Huntlie and the Lord Ogilbie was a cominge out of the north towardes the Queene, but was a graite waie from her Maiestie, so that they could not come to wine them felwes to her Maiesties armie in time, so that the rebellis tooke the oportunitie boith of time and place, before all her Maiesties forces wer assembled together, and the Earle of Argilles forces as yeete wer not come to wine with her true subiectes. The Queene, ewer desirous to spare the sheddinge of her subiectes bloode, as it became a goode Prince, thought best to retire her selff to her castle of Dumbarten, a holde inexpregnable, and to faiwe her selff from the iniuries of her ennemis till a better fortune; but whill as shee is goinge towardes the saide castle, accompanied with a goode companie of her faithfull subiectes, but not hawinge all her forces with her, the rebellious traitouris had entrinchid and encamped them felwes in a cuntrie village called the Langeſide, which waie shee must needes passe: and this they wer councelled to do by one of the Queenes partie, who hath ewer beene a man that had borne two faces; for as the night before he came from Murraie to betraie his mistres, so the nexte daie he plaied

the traitouris, and lefte her in the distresse. In the night before the battle, this false double dissembling hearted traitour, the Lord Boide, who ewer, like Judas, followed for to hawe the full bagge, wrete to Murraie that her Maiestie thought best not to precipitate the mater, but onlie to make her owen person in the castle of Dumbarton, till shee had assembled all her forces, which wer in the fardest partes of the realme. These letters Murraie receiwed about midnight, which he communicated to his complices, who adwised him in all haist to send foorth certan troupes to lie in amuscado and ambusishment by the waie the Queene came, and they them selwes wold followe with the maine battle. Murraies partie tooke the oportunitie boith of the place and the sunne, which did helpe them much in the fighte, which was feughten were fearcelie : but the thing that gauled the Queenes partie was, that hawinge ther feilde peeces flinted and sett behinde the armie, and Murraie his pieces, and a greate number of harquebushes and muscateres in orchardes, shootinge them of against the Queenes folkes, forced them to retire after they had broken ther launces, swordes and speares in the fight, they tooke them selwes to ther dagers to defend them selwes, and in the end they gaiwe place to the furious ennemite. In the combate wer flaine 57 gentlemen, most of the name of Hammilton, and 27 prefoners wer taken.

Thus the victorie fallinge to Murraie, the Queenie, fearing the crueltie of the traitour, guarded with two or thrie cornettes, haisteth towardes England, and wold newer staie till shee came to Lochmaben, where her councell did fitte, which did adwise her, whatsoever shee did, not to go within England, for the manifolde experiences her Maiesties anceftouris had of perfidious dealinge of the Englishe against ther faith and credite towardes them. Some of her best affectionat subiectes then there offered her Maiestie ther strong houses and holdes, wherein shee might be defended against the violence of all her ennemis, boith of

England and Scotland, till all the whole companie of all her faithfull freindes should come to her succour, if perhappes anie durste be so im-pudentlie bolde thus to assault her Maiestie. Others did councell her to retire her selff into some of her owen stronge holdes and castles, neare vnto which shee might hawe such meanes to exspect such aide and succour. Others praied her to flie into Fraunce, offering them selwes to be her guides and conducters thither: but shee her self tooke full resolution to trie nowe in time of neede, the often promefed fauour and goode will of Elizabethe of Englande, for shee sawe the desperate dealinge of the bastarde and his complices, and had alredie tried it; and as yeet, hawinge the apprehencion of deathe in her hearte, wherwith they had often threatned her Maiestie, to go into Fraunce, in such disaraie without wessellis, without a competent number of followers fitting for her estate, and want of her roiale furnitour, shee said shee could not, nor wold not, in regarde of the former greate pompe and traine attended ones her thither, and thence home againe, when shee returned into Scotland.

None of her faithfullest subiectes and serwandes councellis did like her minde, sayinge, shee wold trusfe her selff in the handes of her nearest kinnifwoman and cusing Elizabeth, whose amitie and freindshipe shee was sure of, boith in regarde shee caried with her the pledges and gages of her promefed freindshipe and constant lowe which shee had send her, and also the letters which shee had written vnto her, full of honest offers and fauour to succoure her when and as often as neede shoulde require: for howe foone her Maiestie came foorthe of Lochlewin, shee sent to Elizabeth a gentleman, deliwering vnto him a jewell, which was a faire diamonde, receiwed before as a token of mutuall amitie, so longe as they two should liue together, from her ambaffadour Throgmorton, for the better conferming of the promeses shee made vnto her, which was to aide her against all her ennemis and rebelles, and if it woulde please her Maiestie to retire her selff into England, that shee wold come in her

owen person so farre as the frontiers, to receiwe and affisst her with all her power and mighte.

This was the cause that her Maiefie did enteirlie relie her selff vpon the faithfull promeses of Elizabeth made by Throgmorton and diuers otheres, and that if shee did not promese, yeit shee wold not be so shamleffe and wicked as to breake the righte of hospitalitie, either to uise her hardlie her selff, or to delyver her in the handes of her mortall ennemis, but giwe her frie paflage and libertie to retire her selff home amonkest her faithfull subiectes, who wold defend her with ther liwes, landes and goodes, or ellis to go fordwarde towardes Fraunce, which shee best liked.

Thus shee wold giwe no place to her faithfullest subiectes cou ncell and reasons, but did offer and caste her selff in the armes of her ennemie, who had greateſt interest in gewinge councell for takinge ordour for the death of her hufband, and thirfted after her bloode. Shee exſpected that Elizabeth wold have helped her to take wengeance of the murder of her hufband, he beinge the ſecunde heire of her croune, and he beinge ſo neare of her owen bloode. Shee thought to hawe made her innocencie knownen to her and her nobilitie, and to hawe cleared her selff of all the false calumnies which the committers and authouris of the cruell murder imposēd vpon her, wheroff ſhee was innocent, and by her ſupport ſo cruell and damnable a defigne might have beene puniſhed: Shee thought ſhee ſhould hawe founde ther Ladie Margaret Douglaffe, her hufbandes mother, that wold hawe ioined with her in the perſuite of ſuch a damnable crime, that it might hawe clearlie and manifeſtlie appeared vnto the world who wer the execrable committers theroff, that the truith beinge fullie examined, they might hawe beene puniſhed accorſinglie. These reaſons thoroulie perfwaded her to make choice of England, for her refuige befor manie other places, where ſhee might hawe beene more kindlie uſed.

But the moſt Rewerend father, Mr John Hammilton Archbiſhop of

St Andrewes, and Primate of Scotland, a man of greate yeares and longe experience, newer could be of her Maiesties minde, he newer thought her opinion, he knowinge, from time to time, the infidelitie of Elizabethes auncestouris, of her selffe and ther councellis ; he plainelie tolde her Maiestie that manie of her Maiesties auncestouris, too lightlie trustinge the promeses of the English, wer brought to all extreme neceffitie in lieue of ther promesed freindshipe, to the greate danger of ther realmes : for example he sett before her eyes, and shewed her howe Kinge James the First, grandfather to her greate uncle, thinkinge to go into Fraunce, whether Kinge Robert his father had sent him to awoide the tyrannie of his uncle, was taken presoner in quiet time of peace, hawinge landed on the north coaste of England at Flameburgh, to take the freshe aire, beinge then fewen yeares of age, when he could not in anie waies hawe annoied the English ; for all this they keepte him fast 17 yeares, and in the end, against the lawe of natiounes, made him raunsom him selff, payinge weeke therfore, as if he had beene taken in iuste warre and oppen hostilitie : the father hearing of thole sorroufull newes, within thrie daies after, died of melancholie. Henrie 2 of England delte so with Malcolme the fourth of that name king of Scotland, and after him with his sonne William king of Scotland, whome boith he entreated to come to London in pretence of amitie and freindshipe, but he wold not suffer them to go backe till they had done him homage for Cumberland, Nor-thumberland, and the Erldomes of Huntington and Chester, which he held in his realme ; he led them captiwives beyond seis to be spectatoures of his warres in Fraunce, by that meanes to breke the auncientest league in the christianitie, and make his subiectes the Scottiſhe rewlote from the French, who did most constantlie with all force resist and beate backe the attemptes of the English, that they could not, nor wer not, able to subdue the French, as they thought to hawe done. This Henrie before had sworne newer to truble the Kinges of Scot-

land for these seigneories; after, when the saide Malcome knighted him, cominge into Cumberland by the conduct of his mother vnto him to craiwe aide for the recovering of his right to the croune of England, without whose aide he had newer beeene kinge: This faithleffe man, before they came thither, swore and faithfullie promesed newer to demaunde or do anie thinge to the priudice of ther persons and rightes of ther crounes. Alexander Duke of Albanie, brother to Kinge James 3, greate uncle to her Maiestie, returning from Flanders from the Duke of Guilderland his grandfather, whom he went to see, was also taken by the Englishe vpon the sea in time of peace, and without all cause detained presoner till they wer forced, by open denunciation of warre, for feare to lett him go frie, and restore him all his wessellis and furnitour, which they against the lawe of armes had taken. He forder tolde her Maiestie manie other declaratiounes and remonstrances, and more in speciall he shewe her the mortall hatred that Elizabeth did beare her, together with the confederatiounes wer betuine her and her mortall enemis, which by her persuasion, councell and adwifise, and by her aide, favoure and supporte, had acted so manie terrible tragedies in Scotland.

But all this, and much more, could [not] remowe out of the heade of this Princes the confidence and assurance shee had in the promeses of her cusinge Elizabeth, which, when the venerable father and prelate perceiued that shee wold caste her selff in a certane danger, as shee tooke water to go to her desbanie in this fatall cuntrie, he humblie fell vpon his knees, seizinge vpon her Maiesties bodie with boith his armes, saide vnto her with manie teares, that shee wold be trubled to drawe him with her if shee went fordward her determined iorney, he beinge so olde and so onable to travell; he besought her to giwe him leewe to retire, seeinge he could not resist her: he then tolde her yeet ones againe flatlie, shee was goinge to vndo her selff, her estate and realme, and all her favorites and faithfull serwantes; he praied her therfore

to giwe him a note of her remonstrances, to fortifie thos of the House of Hammilton in time of place, and all the other Lordes that had followed her in all her trubles.

In this meane while, in a rage ranne thorowe the cuntrie Murraie like a wilde boare, depopulatinge the landes of the Queenes faithfull subiectes, robbing them of ther goodes and pullinge doun ther holdes and houses, persuinge them with fire and fworde whether soewer he came, confiscatinge all ther mowables for his owen particular uise : Hamilton, Draffen, Skirlinge, and Lochinwar, together with the most of the holdes and fortresses situate vpon the riwer of Clide, besides manie mo places, can witnes this to be true.

So the Queene pairtinge from this wenerable father, after shee had yeelded him his petition, cometh to Workington, the first toun upon the frontiers of England, and from thence to Cokermouth, and from thence to Carlel, thinkinge thence to go directlie to the Courte to finde her culing, to throwe her selff in her armes, and to shewe her greiwes to her and her Councell: but howe soun Elizabeth was aduertised of her cominge, shee commaunded shee should be keepte presoner, and staied vnder sure guarde and keepinge, that shee should not escape or go bake anie where.

Thus shee cauised her be staied so farre from Court, left shee seeinge her, should blush because of her letters and faire promeses shee had made vnto her, but nowe was not minded to keepe them. The pre-texte of this restrainte to keep her from fallinge into the handes of her rebellious subiects, and that shee wold send her backe into her owen realme with an armie and stonge garison at convenient time, by this meanes making her kinniswoman liue in hope, whenas shee did no thinge but hinder her to retire, or to demaunde succour of others. Shee cauised her first be staied at Carlel, and from thence to be led to Bolton castle by my Lord Scroope. To which place Fraunces Kroules, capitan

of Elizabethes guard, was sent, who galled her most terrible with reproaches and infinite indignities.

In this meane while, the Scottish nobilitie, provoked with this treason done to ther mistres by Elizabethes treacherie, did assemble them selwes together in armes with full intent to punishe the traitouris, and to roote out all thesee of that faction ; and Huntlie, Craufurde and Ogilbie, accompanied with fixe thousand men, had now marched fordwarde towardes St. Johnston, and Argile had now paffed the riwer of Duioun with thrie thousand men, the Hamiltones with Caſſilles, Eglinton and Maxwell, with the greatest parte of the armie, exſpected ther cominge at Glaſcoue, the place appointed for the generall meetinge. But Murraie perceiwinge him ſelf feble and waike, not able to encounter with ſo greate an armie, in all haifte fendeth to Elizabeth, prayinge her to giue ſpeedie ordoure for his diſtreſſe, and to ſuccour him, ellis he wer vndon, and all his deſignes brocken. Elizabeth, hearing theſe newes, diſpatches one preſentlie to the Queene, to declare vnto her the opprefſion of her people, and the wakninge of her realme by thoſe ciwile troubles, and if it continowed, the loſſe wold turne to her ; and therfore ſhee ought by all meanes poſſible, to preſerue her ſubiectes, leaſt thinking to roote out the euil ſhee ſhould deftroie the goode : and for this cauſe her adwife was, that ſhee ſhould commande the lordes of her parte to retire them ſelvies home, and not nowe afreſhe to beginne new ſturres and broiles ; wherin ſhee her ſelf wold take ſuch goode ordour that ſhee ſhould ſtand weeke content therwith. This adwife of Elizabeth was followed, and commandement forthwith giwen to her faithfull ſubiectes to leawe the enterpriſe and returne to ther houfes, affuringe them of the affiſtance of Elizabeth, and of the promefe that ſhee had to her made, to bringe her backe to her realme with ſuch an armie that her ennemis ſhould not darre look vpon the. But all theſe promefes wer fruſtrat, and no thinge elles but delaies and deceates, to keepe the poore Ladie in ſuſpence till

Murraie had dispatched his afaires, and broughte vnder the Queenes goode ferwantes, one after an other, so distractred and separated.

If Elizabeth meant to send her cusinge backe againe, and succour her in her distresse, why detained shee her vpon the bordours, where her rebelles might sooner do her harme, nor at her courte, whither shee should hawe cauffed her be conweied, like a prince as shee was, to be keepte in princelie dignitie, till shee had beene as goode as her woorde in accompanyeinge her homewarde as farre foorth as the frontiers, with an armie to sett her in authoritie againe ower her owen kingdome? But Elizabethes auncestours, fugitiues from England by the rebellion of ther subiectes, wer not so proditoriouslie dealte with in Scotland: Example Henrie 6 chased from the possestion of his croune by the Duke of Yorke, seekinge to faiwe him selff from the furie of his ennemie till a better oportunitie, came in Scotland, with his Queene, children, brethren and uncles, cusinges, and manie Lordes that followed him, wer not keepte presoners by Kinge James 3; but this Kinge did leade him to his courte, and roiallie entertained him with all his companie, and so long as he pleased to ftaie, permitted him to laike nor want no thinge fitte for the estate of a Kinge; and after had beene thus entertained as longe as he pleased, perciwing him desirous to returne home againe into his kingedome, he helped him with an armie to recower his right, and subdewe his rebellious subiectes: he made no subtile plottes, and dewised [no] treacherous flightes to trappe the distressed Kinge: he practised not against him by intelligences from his ennemis, as Elizabeth doeth. Shee, in liewe and recompence of so manie goode offices done to her auncestour by the greate grandfather of this Ladie, crossed with fortune, hawinge recourse vnto her vpon the affurance of her promese by her letters and ambassadouris, which shoulde be abowe all other thinges a holie and inviolable thinge, prepareth for her at her entrie in her realme, a preson farre from her fighte; shee cauffeth

her be braiwed danielie, appointinge fawage inhuman persons, that had no thinge of men but the outward shape or shewe. Was [it] the womanlie and courteous nature of a prince, to insulte vpon the distressed, and agrauat the miseries of her neareſt kinnifwoman in the world, and appoint others to do the like, who, inſteade of guarding her, onworthelie abuse her, no white at all respecting her roiale person ?

In the meane time, ſhee thinketh yeet to gulle mennes eies and dazell them, to make them beliue that of lowe ſhee keepeth her in faiwe-guarde from the iniurieſ of her rebellious ſubieſtes, with whom ſhee hath dailie intelligence, helpinge fordwarde ther treafons againſt her cuſinge, of the which treacherie ſhee is the onlie cheiff architect, builder, dewifer, procurer and heade councellour.

But to retурne to the purpoſe. The nobles of the parte of the Queene hawing laide ther weapons afide by her commandement, at the treacherous request and perſuasion of Elizabeth, that Murraie and Morton his liwetenant miſtighe keepe their authoritie, vnder which for the preſent Scotland nowe was, without reſiſtance or gainesayinge of anie person whatſoever, ſhee wrote to Murraie, that forren princes miſt take offence, not onlie at the perſuite which he made againſt his miſtres, but alſo at her reſtrainte in England, ſhee beinge a frie prince, and not ſubieſt to the power of anie other, iſ ther were not ſome shewe of iuſtice made that miſt leade them to do thiſ: and for thiſ cauſe her councell was, that ſome forme of proceſſe miſt be made againſt her, and that ſhee miſt be accuſed of her huſbandes death, a thiſe of it ſelff ſo odious, that it wold miſtigate the heartes of thoſe which wer kindled with deſire of rewenge for the euil entreatie of ſuſh a Ladie, not onlie by her ſubieſtes, who ſeemed, for religiōns cauſe, to hawe ſome reaſon of miſcontentment, but alſo by her, who was her neareſt kinnifwoman, and that ought, by the lawe of nature, to defend her and mantaine her againſt the force and violence of all her ennemis whatſoever: that thiſ forme and shewe of iuſtice wold

giwe culour to all ther designes, and appease the grudge and indignation of other princes, and shutte the mouthes of her parentes and freindes in France, that wer ther ennemis : that he should send, or come him selff in all assurance, and that should bringe with him men of councell to urge and sett fordwarde this accusation, and that they should be werie weeble harde to the end of the busines, neither in the fighte nor hearinge of ther mistres, but by her agentes and procurars, who should hawe longe time to replie, or faie anie thinge for her iustification to cleare her. Thus the cruell accusatioun beinge resolwed vpon and vnderstoode, the Queenes agentes should be disturbed howe soone they should enter a litle to answere in the mater before the Commissioners apointed by Elizabeth, and to iustifie ther mistres in her righte : the affemblye should be broken vp [by] some Alman quarrell, (as we wiste to faie), or sudden fraie to that purpose, or some other occasion or accident, wheroff they could procure anewe for the serwinge their turne, and feinyed to happen, to the end they might hawe no time nor leasure to iustifie ther mistres innocencie.

Murraie, likinge this councell weeble, determined to send some of his best and surest freindes, the most apparent of his faction, with memorialles and instructiounes to urge the accusation against his mistres, fearinge least it should seeme odious to the English nobilitie, and not fitting his mouth, he being the naturall brother to the accused, and adwanced by her in goodes and honours, hawing no meanes but which he had by her bountifullnes ; but refused of his favorites in his determinatioun, who feared asmuch the shame of the cause as him selff, and the crueltie and infamie of the persuite intended against ther mistres, before it should leewe he tooke purpose (all shame sett aside), to go him selff in persone to followe it. He took with him those speciallie who had ewer serwed him before in all his wiked enterprises against his mistres ; and to culour the mater the better, he was not eshamed to giwe out

that the thrie Estates of Scotland had alredie iustified the accusatioun against his maistres ; and for prowe theroff, he had brought with him of ewerie estate some to cleare the mater, which wer the dewilish magitian forcerar of the Orcades, his hired man, of whome we hawe spoken before, Mr Robert Pitcarne, a filthie, adulterous whoremifter, who kept all his liffe an other mannes wiff, Abbot of Dunnfermeling ; and these did represent the spirituall estat ; the Earle of Morton and Lindefaie, as filthie consciencles men, for the nobles ; and Mr James McGill and Mr Henries Balnawes, councellouris and lawers of the Sefcion and Bench of Estate, for the thirde estate ; together with Mr George Buchanan, whome he brought to giwe apparence to ther lies, in painted woordes of eloquence, framed before hand for the purpose in latine, that it might be sent in Fraunce, Germanie and other forren natiouns who understood not the Englishe language. This wicked man constrained also to go in his companie, Sire William Metellan of Lethington, who often refused to do it, who in conscience knewe the weritie of the facte, and that the cheiffe accuser and conftraner of him to wndertake the iornie, was more guiltie of the crime nor his liege Ladie and mistres ; but knowinge weeble the humour of the man, he durste not refuse incace it should hawe coaste him his heade.

The time of meetinge apointed by Elizabeth drawinge on, Thomas Howarde, duke of Norfolke, the firt of the nobilitie of England in honour, goodes and reputation, and the Earle of Suffex, and Ralphe Sadler, councellour of estate, wer sent to take notice, and heare the grievances of the two parties. In this meane while, the Queene seeinge her vnnaturall accufars, much degeneratinge from the curage and spirite of ther auncestouris, and to follow the footsteppes of John Baliol, that souldie himselff and the realme to the Englishe, submittinge themselwes, not onlie they beinge her subiectes, to the iudgment of Elizabeth and her councell, but also by the same meanes wold aknowledege her for

ther superiour, and make her, beinge an heire of a kingdome, and as frie as her selff, become her wassall, if it should lie in ther power, and to stand to her pleasure and courtefie to do with her what shhee thought goode ; therfore shhee sent her agentes to request Elizabeth, that it might stand with her goode likinge to heare her in person, and shhee wold be willinge and readie, all whosoever wold accuse her, and wolde cleare and iustifie her selff in all what should be objected before her and her councell. But yeit shhee protested shhee wold not ewer acknowledge them for her laufull judges, or her true and faithfull subiectes, beinge a Princes and an heire of a kingedome as frie, and ewer so reputed, as that realme of England, and that Elizabeth, beinge but her equall, could not be her judge, or her subiectes. But if it pleased her, with other chris- tian Princes, to take knoweledge of the mater, shhee wold most willingly submitte her selff to ther iudgment, not refusinge her for anie thinge that had pased heiretore betuine them, but from the beginningne had determined newer to heare her in person.

Yeit, notwithstanding, shhee commaunded her Commissioners, (after Elizabethes deniall of her iuste petitions,) to poste to Yorke, the place appointed for the meetinge, where Elizabethes wer come before, weelee instructed and informed againe the poore distressed Ladie, and furnished with all the malicious reportes that could be dewised to make her odious ; and to this effect her ennemis made a longe narration of all that was done in Scotland, and in speciall of the ordinances made ther in Parliament for the gowernement of the realme, not accusinge the Queene of anie faulce, but protestinge them felwes her maiesties most affectionat and humble ferwantes, with all desiringe by waie of supplicatioun to the Queene of England, to do them iustice towardes her, and to ratifie and approwe that which they had concluded and determined in the assemblie of ther estates.

When they had beene weelee at large harde of Elizabethes Commis-

fioneris, as was promesed them, Mr John Leflie bishop of Rosse, the Lord Boyd, the Lord Harrise, Mr Gawin Hamilton abbott of Kilvinge, her Maiesties Commissioneris and agentes, perciwinge that the articles did cowertlie and vnderhand deprawe the honour of ther soweraigne, albeit they did protest themselwes her Maiesties most humble and affectionat ferwantes, yeit secretlie and priwelie ther projectes and ther consciences wer farre otherwise, and that they had possest Elizabethes Commissioners with a werie harde opinion of her behawours and cariage towardes her husband, as they duelie certified and aduertised, they did fullie resolwe not to make a simble answere to that which was propo-  
ed, but thought it most expedient fullie and whollie to refute all ther impudent accusatiouns, and whatsover ellis they might urge for the dis-  
adwantage of ther mistres.

They made therfore declaratioun to Elizabethes Commissioneres, ¶ The deputie Commissioners of Marie Queene of Scottes made this apologie at Yorke in the defence of ther mistres, in the hearinge of Elisabeth Queene of Englandes Commissioners. in the hearinge of the rebelles, that they could not aknowledege Eliza-  
beth nor them for iuste and lafull judges of the cause, nor ther aduer-  
saries lafull accusars, to be harde to accuse ther Soweraigne, to whom,  
by the lawe of God and nature, they wer to be subiect, and not to Eliza-  
beth of England : Yeit they beinge werie definorous that the innocencie  
of ther Mistres might appeare to all the world, and to take from them  
that euill opinion which was in ther mindes by the finifter informatioun  
of her ennemis, they defirde that they might adwise and consider the  
fundation of the ordinances of the Estates of Scotland by them alledged ;  
and saide, that all ther accusatiounes confiscted vpon no thinge but vpon  
presumptions, the greater parte wheroff wer so frewolous and so light,  
that they deserwed not in such a companie to be either alledged,  
pro-  
pounded or giwen eare vnto or harde ; for ther could not be founde  
out one witnes that sawe her Maiestie present at the death of her hus-  
band, nor that ewer hard her commaund such a willanous acte. The  
accusars them selwes do not saie it, but onlie that shes consented to it,

to the end that shee might marie Boithwell, foundinge themselwes vpon I knowe not what coniectures, which be not buildinges to ower-throwe the honour or liffe, I saie not of a Queene, exempted from lawe, and that hath no superiour, but of anie person of the baseſt estate in all the world ; for in ſuch caſe the comoune lawe ſaieth, that the prooffe ſhould be more cleare than the noone funne ſheyninge in the midle of the daie. But let us ſee them, I praie you :

1. The firſt is founded vpon the presumption of the enwie which they ſaide ſhee had againſt her husband for the inhumane murder of the Se-

~~er Fie for shame, cretarie.~~ 2. The ſeconde vpon the contempt of her faith of wedloke, they them ſelwes, the accuſars, wer actouris giwinge part to Boithwell in her goode favours. 3. The thirde vpon boith in the murder and mariage, as Mor-letters writen with her hand, and other papers of instructiounſ founde on one of the principall of the Queenes in a little filver coffer. 4. The fourth vpon the litle account ſhee made accuſars, confeffed before he ſuffered for of him after his death, diſdaininge to mourne, or cauſſinge him to be in the ſaide murder, buried as was fitte. 5. The fifth vpon the mariage ſhe contracted with Boithwell, the murderer of her hufbande ; and for that they used yee not bluſhes for your ſhamles impudencie ! Yes, the shameles traitour Murrail told the Lord Harrise of the Kinges murder before it was executed.

Albeit, then, all theſe preſumptiounes maie weeſe be refuted with a ſimple deniall, which proceedinge from the mouth of ſuch a princeſ, ought to be of more efficacie and force to cleare her innocencie then ten thouſand ſuch men her accuſars alledge to the contrarie ; yeet to content your mindes, and to deliuer vnto you the evident truth, without approwinge her authoritie that had made you her deputie Commissioners, or aknoledging you for iudges, we ſaie all the accuſatiounſ of our miſtres be in the ſelfe falſe, and founded vpon the malicious ſpeeches of her ennemis : for touching the firſt, true it is, ſhee had moſt iuſte occaſion to be angrie with her hufband, who had conſpired with her ennemis who killed her innocent ſecretarie, an olde, feble, wake, and impotent harmeleſſe man, her moſt faithfull ferwant and councel-

lour to her goode and honour when he implored God for mercie and iustice, they wold not bringe to hawe triale in iustice, whether he had deserwed death or not. When he did flie to her Maiesties cheir where shee satte to be his mediatour, to hawe succour and triale by iustice and right of lawe, and her Maiestie did interceede for him at ther handes, they spitefullie stabbed the poore man with thrie scoire and abowe mortall woundes, and that ower her Maiesties shoulder, and harde by her, to the greate hazarde and danger of her liffe, shee beinge then greate with childe of a soweraigne Prince. Shoulde anie such cruell willaines be harde nowe to accuse ther ladie and mistres, who them selwes hawe beene actoures in boith the murders? Was not her Maiestie perfittlie reconciled to her husband in sincearitie of heart, in lowe and amitie, and so did continewe with him so longe as they liwed together?

This poore Prince, after this inhuman act was comitted by the infstigation and direction of these that nowe heire accuse her, seeinge that [they] had intention to murder his wiff, founde the meanes, when they had planted them selwes in greate number about her, to come vnto her companie to ioine him selff vnto her for her saiftie, and after he had falen doun vpon his knees and craived pardon of her with greate plentie of teares, shee lerned weeble the faulte wher it was hatched, and hard the beginningge, and that came not of him selff: Yeet, seeinge that he was a younge man, werie deliberate, stoute of curage and handes, and that he wold willinglie hawe rewenged this cruell willanie vpon the first authoures of it, he had the facte in such horrour after the designe of them was discouered which councelled him vnto it, her Maiestie was forced and compelled to shewe agoode countenance, and held his bridle shorte from the beginningge, to hinder the stronge passiouuns of his magnanimous spirite and curage, so desirous of rewenge against Murrarie and Morton, and those which putt this execrable acte in his heade, to make him enter in a irreconcileable discorde and variance with his

wiffe. Had they no other meanes to kille him elleswhere but in the presence of her Maiestie, when he catched holde on her Maiesties goune, cryinge for iustice and mercie, when shee requested them to spare him, if not for her owen sake, yett at least for the childe cause [which] was betuine her fides, which perhappes [would] one daie call them all to account for such a cruell fact? What, did he newer go out of her presence? did he newer go abroade into the citie, where they might hawe awenged them selwes vpon him if he had offended them? or when he went abroade out of the palace, had he such greate attendance and retinewe of followers, that they durst not looke vpon him? They might hawe dailie founde him walkinge the streates of Edinburgh and Cannogate, where the meanest of ther followers might hawe awenged them selwes on him? Why then did they dewise, councell, and persuade the husband to execute the cruell facte in the presence of the wiffe, greate with childe, and readie to lie doun? They knewe weeble whie in ther consciences, and some of them that wer then ther partners hawe since confessed, that ther intention was so to affright this most sorrowfull Princes, that shee and her issue should presentlie die, and after to putt all the blame vpon her husband, and ridde him also out of the world.

This brought about, ther had beene no impediment to Murraie to be kinge. The Queene was not so woide of iudgement, that shee did not discower and marke all this weeble, and note it weeble a litle after, which cauised her not to diminishe no thinge the amitie and accustomed affection towardes her husband, which for his youth and wante of expeirience, should hawe, but could not prewent such an ambushe: wheroff shee gawe greate and certan testimonie at Glascowe when he was ther sicke, for hawinge intelligence theroff shee posted speedelie thither, and cherisched and entertained him most lownglie, and from thence bringinge him to Edinburgh to chaunge the aire shee visited him dailie, and affisted him almost till the werie houre of his death. You will faie,

this amitie and lowe was counterfeited : we denie it. Who ought to be beliwed ? Marcus *Æ*Emilius Scaurus hawinge been accused to hawe betraied the comoune wealth of Rome, takinge Mithridate fee filwer, albeit he was a corrupt man and knownen for such, yeet for the respect he had in the Senate, and for the inequalitie of him and Varus Suronenhis accuser, he was sent cleare awaie vpon his simple deniali of the facte. And her subiectes the traiterous rebellis, ewer knownen for such, saie the clearinges, which ther mistres made to her husband a litle before his death, wer but bates and sopes to bringe him to his end. Shee denieth it, and sweareth the contrarie : Is ther woordē better to be beliwed, or more worthie of credite than hers ? Such periured flaiwes, who newer had anie thinge in the world but by her, should not be harde before ther lowneraigne lady and mistres ; as now they be liftned weeble vnto, and whatsoewer they speake in malice is reputed truth. O notable iudges and partiall iudgement ! if shee had beene definious to ridde him awaie, and to be deliivered of him, what neede had shee to hawe recourse to such a violence which could not be concealed ? One blowe with a sworde or dager had beene sooner giwen, and with leffe flaunder, reproach and violence. Shee might hawe put him to death by iustice, hawinge the lawes at her deuotion, and her subiectes her owen and readie to do it, without longe proceedinge, and the prowe cleare. The Queene her selff hawinge seene him, he being affistant at the murder of her most faithfull serwant, and his owen dager beinge founde in his bellie, for albeit he was her husband, yeet was he not Kinge, but her waffall and subiect, and vnder the authoritie of the lawes as other men : but shee feared, saie you, the scandale, and wold hawe been argued of too greate crueltie, if shee had publicklye put him to deathe by the hand of an executioner : but you, that reprove the Queene of an act [of] crueltie, if shee had done an act of iustice, prosecute her to make her die vniustlie by a

strange executioner, if one wold beliwe you. If shee feared publick scandall and reportes of men, if shee had conceiwed so damnable a deaigne, as you accuse her off, had shee not the witt to hawe poisoned him? was shee so impudent and woide of conceate, that shee could no waie hawe founde meanes to dispatch him by some secrete and priwie meanes, to hide it from the world? You hawe beene so shamelesse and impudent, that you hawe made it be published, by the voice of your ministers and ther artificiall libellis, that the ficknes he was in at Glascoue came of no thinge but poison that was giwen of and in behalfe of his wiffe, and that the wheales, blaines and culloured boiles that brake foorth and rofe vp vpon all his bodie wer sure tokens theroff: if that be true, howe was he healed of the ficknes without any remedie against it? They that gaiwe him that poison had no desire to kille him, since they gaiwe it him either so feble and wertules, or insuch a smalle quantitie, that he escaped of him selff, without anie helpe of the phisitiouns. You abuse your selff wereie much, if you thinke her Maieftie be so groffe witted, and so roode in conceate, that if shee wold practise such dewises to kill her husband, shee could not brue him such a potion, in qualitie and quantitie, as the cafe shoud require. What argument hawe you that shee did so? Wheales and boiles do breade in mannes bodie, not onlie by poison, but by manie other accidentes also, to which they be naturallie subiect, and principallie these of his age. If you hawe then no other token of this facte, confess your friwolous calumnies, and your too manifest false accusatiouns no lesse impudent, then that which is likewise shameleslie divulged by your dewilish libelles, accusinge her that shee wold likewise hawe poisoned her sonne in the castle of Sterling, which thinge was shamleslie inwented and practized by the dewilish whore and witch, the ladie Marre, who made a litle pultes or gruell as shee wold hawe giwen the younge infant the same, and then gaiwe it her little dogge, which incontinentlie burste at the middo fide and died. Fie, be you eshamed of

your lies ! Who will beliwe your impudencie ? Wolde such a lowinge mother hawe ewer attempted such a thinge, in a greate frequencie of wemen about the childe ? No, it is incredible ; neither nature nor the feare of God, besides the lowe shee bare to him, he beinge her onlie begotten sonne, could suffer her to thinke vpon so willenous an acte, lett be to do it. Fie, blush for shame, and repent your calumnies, or ellis exspe&t no thinge ellis but to be sent to the deuil for ewer, who is that old accuser of the bretheren, and your maister whose will yee do. All your calumnies be of the like sorte, without anie apparence of truth, onworthie to be uttered, or thought of by a Christian ; they be all against the presumptiouns of reason and nature, impugninge the wertue, knowledgement, vnderstandinge and grace of such a honest meaning ladie.

Touchinge the rest, shee is a prince most meeke, towarde, gentle, gracious, bounteous and pitiefull, as all that ewer knewe can testifie, that fewe ewer coulde matche her. But allace, this hath beene the beginniges of all her misfortunes, that shee hath made them insolent who now accuse her, throwe her too greate lenitie, whom shee should hawe rather made feele the smarte of the sworde, for ther manifolde treacheries against her committed : if shee had chased them foorth of her dominions, and not pardoned them so often, or rather cutte of ther heades, as they weeble deserwed, they had not stude heir with impudent faces accusinge ther soweraigne. Shee so often receivewed them to her favour, that they made no account ewerie daie more and more to offend her, and to deale treacherouslie against her ; insteade therof, if shee had cutt them of by iustice, shee should not, at this daie, hawe stooode in neede to hawe staied at the heaste shee doeth, to hawe her recourse to the mercie of an other for her deliwerie out of ther bloodie and merciles handes. Morton was the principall actour in the butcherie of her secretarie, and his maister Murraie the instigatour of his death, and yeet boith had pardon of her Maiestie, takinge remission for this ther treacherie.

I neede not repeate manie mo ther traiterous designes pardouned them, for they wer notorious in the eies of all the whole kingedom, for whate moneth, what weeke, or what daie wer thè idle or frie from plottinge, and imagininge either one treason or other against ther prince, state or commonewelth? All these thinges shee tooke no notice of, and yeet nowe, howe barbarouslie, like sawage cruell wilde beastes, do they nowe thirft to be faciat with her bloode, without all feare of God, imposinge vpon her that crime wheroff they them selwes wer the first dewisers, fordward fetters and putters to execution. Wer they more deare to her then was her husband? Was her husband more faultie then they? Coulde shee keepe her stomoke, in regarde of him, that suffered him selff to be deceiwed, and to imparte her favours to those who deceiwed him? Before this facte you can not denie but that shee lowed him onlie inteirlie. Is it probable, that for this facte allone, shee did dewide her selff so much from him, that fince shee could not finde in her hearte to receiwe him againe into her favour, albeit shee was weele reconciled with you the authoris of the murder, and which wer no thinge to her in estimatioun in regarde of her husband?

The comike poet saieth, the falling out of lowers is the renewinge of lowe. That which shee had showed by infallible argumentis and necessarie, hawinge, by open proclamatioun and edict, prohibited all persons from speakinge euill of her husband, nor to putt him in the ranke of them that acted this vnfortunat murder, so wicked, so abominable and cruell: shee forder graunted him letters of pardon to iustifie him selff against all his mortall ennemis, in case they should imput so a wild an act vnto him after the death of her Maiestie. Can you showe a more perfect demonstration of synceare lowe and amitie?

The satyricall poet sayeth, no thinge is more desirous of rewenge then a wooman. She shoulde therfore hawe awenged her selff vpon Murraie and Morton and ther complices, who wer much more faultie then her

husband. This sexe, albeit vindicative, yeit it abhorreth crueltie. And as touching the accused, shee hath ewer showed her selff pitifull and inclinable to mercie, yea, ewen against her capitall ennemis, and namelie against her accusers, as you maie iudge by ther often ordinarie flightes much reiterated, (not beinge able to aunswere for ther heinous treasons,) into England. There is no probabilitie, that in one moment, shes is of a meeke Queene become a tyranne. At the beginninge, when shee seemed much offended for the murder of her secretarie, the more parte of the nobilitie proposed to her the diworce and separatioun from her husband, which shee iustlie might hawe done, if shee did so much stomeke and malice him as the rebelles alledge nowe. And you, Morton, received into favour, restored to your honour and goodes, made often overtures theroff vnto her, and namelie to make it passe throwe if shee wold, denie if you can or darre. I am heire to iustifie it, and shall stande one daie in the presence of the Almighty to accuse you : speake man, if yee hawe a face, or sensles bound conscience : fie for shame, you are guiltie of that I charge you with. Denie, denie not, least you fall into the condemnation of the deuil. When you often propounded vnto her Maiestie, did shee not ewer aunswere you, that her husbande was but younge and litle experienced for want of yeares, and that it was a eſſe thinge to bringe him to wertue, and that he was of his owen nature a goode man and weeke enclined, and that the corruption he had came of euil counſell of those that wer neither freindes to him nor to her Maiestie. You ſee then the fynceire lowe of this ladie to her deare husband, and by conſequence the presumption of all euil will destroyed, which is the foundation, (but groundles,) vpon which her accusars hawe builte all ther odious acculatiounes, odious, I ſaie, in the sight of God and man, ſhee being the miftres and foweraigne, and the thinge they laie to her charge false in the ſelff.

Touchinge the feconde and thirde article of her accuſation, touch-

inge contempt and faith of mariage, which they think to werifie by letters missiwe, which they saie shee had written to the Erl Boithwell, that is a most wile, impudent and bloodie reproch, and meerelie by them falslie and maliciouslie dewised to giwe shewe and culour to ther desaigned conclusion they propose, to drawe therof that which they pretended, namelie the murder, for it is to be presumed that an adulterous woman maketh no more conscience to profitte her owen bodie to ther indiscrete and vnbridled concupisence, then shee doeth to be acquanted with the purpose of the murder and plottes tending therto, and the execution theroff by the murdererars. To this end they alledge some particular actions, so weeble painted and disguised, so weeble vpholden, so weeble described and signed boith by the names and surnames of persons, the circumstances of time and place, of thinges, of ther endes and ewentes, that the most wise and best adwised maie heirin be deceiwed and abused, and we aunswere heiruntill by denyinge all: for her Maiestie calleth God and his holie angelis to witnes, that all these thinges ar onlie false and inventerd at ther pleasure, wheroff her accusars cannot werifie one point; for touching the letters by them brought and produced, intendinge to make this ther suirest and onlie proowe to all ther accusatiouns, her Maiestie swear-eth and protesteth solemnlie in the faith of christian Princes, and by the redemption of her soule, that shee newer wrete them, and that they hawe beene suborned and dewised by her ennemis, and extorted from some one that could counterfeit her hand. This not the first time that they hawe used this meanes. Murraie, heire present, knoweth weeble what to saie, if he wold confess the truth, which is newertheles so weeble knownen, and hath beene so weeble awerred, that he can not denie it; for when the Lord Gordoun, eldest sonne and heire to the Earl of Huntlie, was prisoner at Dumbarre, Murraie dispatched in all haifte a man of his owen to Craigmillar, capitán of the faide castle, with letters counterfeiting her Maiesties hand wretinge, by the which he com-

maunded him, that vpon the receipt of these letters, incontinentlie without all delaie he should strike of the saide Lordes heade. But the capitan, being a milde, courteous and gratiouſ man, not inclined to crueltie at all, piteinge the younge Lordes estate, did ſhewe him the letters, and tooke adwife to deferre the execution, till that he vnderſtoode forder her Maiefties goode pleafour by her ſelf from her owen mouth, and for this purpose he poſted to the Courte, then diſtant twentie Scottish miles from that place; he reported to her Maieftie howe the younge Lord ſaide to him he ſhould hawe no harme, in confidence of the which promefe he diſrelie him ſelf vpon her Maiefties mercie.

The capitan tolde her he was ſtriken amazed and aſtoniſhed at ſuch a commandement, he beinge in preſence when her Maieftie thus promefed him his faiwetie: he ſpared no trawell, but came by poſt in all haifte to her Maieftie, and came to her paſale when ſhee was nowe in bed at reſt, the gates beinge shutte; he impotuned her Maiefties guarde, who refuſed to lett him enter the paſale, till ſome of the bed chamber hearinge a greate ſturre and noife tooke notice theroff, and by commaundement from her Maieftie bidde them lett the partie come to her preſence whoſoewer it wer, who, when he had preſented himſelf to her vpon his knees, tolde her howe he had put in execution the contentes of her letters, namelie that he had put to death her Maiefties younge cuſinge, the younge Lord Gordoun, ſonne and heire to the Earle of Huntlie. At the reporte wheroff, ſhee beganne to take her ſelf by the haire, cuſinge, abhorringe and deteſtinge the firſt authouris and cauſfers theroff. Then the capitan much confordeſt, thanked God, that he had not obeyed the counterfeete letters, which he ſhewed her, and the firſt fighte ſhee thought ſhee had ſett her hand to wrete them all and ſubſcribed her name, albeit confideringe them and the contentes ſhee weeſe and perfitlie remembered after ſhee newer thought vpon ſuch a thinge all her liſfe, nor yeit diſewer anie mowe her in anie ſuch

thinge, and althought they had, shee wold newer consented to such a thinge, besides all ordour of lawe.

But in the end, Murraie was founde to be the wreter and sender of the cruell missiwe and mandate, that this magnanimous yonge Lord might be dispatched out of his waie, who, beinge a man of manie freindes, and of greate might, perhappes might hinder his hie attemptes in asperinge to the croune, and speedelie rewenge his fathers death by him, vnder the borrowed name of the Queene, most treacherouslie slaine and murdered after the batle, and after he had yielded him self to be brought and conducted to her Maiestie, to purge him self of that wheroff he was accused by his mortall ennemis, and to declare to her his innocencie. And to the end, my Lordes, you maie thinke this to be spoken in jeste and borrowed for goode paiment, marke and beholde the letters: and sayinge this, he deliwered the letters in ther handes, and some such other like fluffe counterfeeted by Murraie and his complices, wheroff they wer shamed and blushed, not knowinge or yeet beinge able to replie.

It is weeble knownen, that the letters of Marie Betun, one of her Maiesties ladies of honour, resembled so nearelie those of her mistres, that it is not possible to deserue the one hand wrettinge from the other: yee hawe also at this daie by your juglinge, where you learned it I knowe, except that God be mercifull and put remedie to it, wilbe the owerthrowe of manie in ther liwes and states, nowe brought in the realme a most dewilish and lewde practise, that manie hawe learned of you to counterfeete mennes handes so cunninglie, wheroff you knowe some that can so naturallie and cunninglie imitate the hand vrettinge of an other, that you wold mistake your owen hand writinge, and approwe and allowe that for yours which hath beene falfifeed by them, and you newer did see with your eyes before. We saie then, that the Queene newer wrotte those letters, and albeit shee had wrettin them, they could

make no prooffe against her, nor be receiued in iudgment; for they be (*sine die et consule*) as the prowerbe is, we knowe not what time they wer written, nor by whom, nor where, neither superscribed nor endorsed with the name or person of anie person, nor signed, nor sealed, nor the wretinge knownen or challenged of anie, and yeet will you hawe her Maiestie condemned of so greate and heinous a crime? Of this will you bringe a necessarie argument not onlie of her vnchaftitie, but also of the hatred, mortall enmitie and crueltie wherwith shee should hawe prosecuted her lowinge husband; ther is no such proceedinge against the most abiect of her subiectes; ther is not kept from them the prescript forme of the lawes; the order of iustice is not keepte backe; they be not speedelie cast as guiltie without dewe prowe, concludinge forcible for iudgment lawfull. You will saie, these letters wer directed to Boithwell: we denie it; how will you be able to prowe the contrarie? You will saie, they wer founde within a litle coffer of silwer perteninge to the Queene: we saie, that if it be so, you your selwes hawe put them there; for Mr James Balfoure, capitán of the castle of Edinburgh, hawinge stollen awaie her Maiesties jewelles that was in it perteininge to her Maiestie, was corrupte by you for rewarde, and yeelded him selff to your fide and betraied his mistres, deliwer her strongest hold of the heade borrowe and citie of the kingdome in your handes, he not hawinge anie warrant from her Maiestie so to do: He was a scholar of Machewell, weeple practised in manie thinges, not altogether ignorant of the Latine and French tongues: neither will wee saie and stande to it, that it was he that forged these letters, but onlie that he is a man, readie and wittie enough to do such a thinge, if he ones did purpose so in his minde. Suppose it be, or anie other that wrete them and put them in the saide coffer, it is all one to us, since it was in your power to put therin whatsoever you pleased. We onlie denie it, that it was her Maiestie, or anie person to her knowledge, or

anie that can awouch it of her. Whome will you make to beliwe it, that such a prudent and a wise Princes could so much forgett her selff as to wrete such letters, to ferwe for a memoriall and infallible argument of her turpitude? Is it possible that shee hath been so carles of her goode name and renoune, or that shee had so little regarde of her selff, that shee sent such letters to Boithwell, all open to bee wiewed and seene of all to whose handes they might come? But to come to the purpose, who was the bearar of them? the man which you see in the moone! Was Boithwell so farre from the courte, that it was needfull to wrete such secrete maters to him by open letters, and no waies disguised nor concealed? Was Boithwell so blokishe and colde in lowe? Saie, it was needfull for a Queene, and shee the most beutifull in the world, to drawe and winne him by verses, and charme him by poefie.

But what is the subiect of these letters? Ther is not anie mention of murderinge, killinge, or vinge anie sorte of crueltie. What is then the subiect of them? Foolishe lowe. Boithwell was a man much giwen to such thinges, ewerie one knoweth it, and that ther was no neede to drawe him to it by such dewises. He depaerted not from the courte, and it had been a waine and superfluous thinge to him, which hath his residence ther, that it might hawe been communicated to him by mouth, to hawe the mater writen to him in vnclosed letters, wherthrowe it might hawe beene published and blasfed abroade, to ferwe to all posterities for a perpetuall note of her infamie and follie.

And to what end had he keepte them in this coffer, since by her it is expreflie commanded to burne them? did he not knowe that this coffer paffed throwe manie peoples handes? did he not knowe that these letters might hawe caused him die the death, if they had fallen into the Queenes handes, he not hawinge done againe her exprefse commaunde, which was to burne them? Be it that they fell into the handes of his ennemis: they wold desire no better subiect to molest and annoie him;

he wanted nothing what he foirsaw: Did he not the inconvences beinge espied, foirsee the danger he might fall into? If the keepinge then of such letters wer to him most dangerous, and could profite him no thinge, nor bringe him no contentment, it is not to be presumed that he put them in the coffer; and albeit he had putt them ther, so yeet it is, that they wer not thither sent him in the behalfe of the Queene, but by some other ladie of more auncient acquaintance.

Let us proceede to the readinge of them; were ie shame and modestie hindereth me to passe anie furder to aunswere the deedes builded vpon these coniectures drawen from the letters; the salllettis and filth of them beinge more stronge then those of Meſſalin, or Marcus Aurelius wiffe. But such coniectures ar so colde, that I am amazed howe the inventor of them durſte digrefſe from reaſon, confideringe the reputation of his knoweledge, which those of his ſect hawe published throughout all Europe, giwinge him the title of the prince of all the poetes of our age. If this woerde poefie be taken for a fable, and poet for a devifer of lies and fables of things that newer wer indeed, hawinge dwelte all his liffe amongeſt the fiewes and brothelhouses, amongeſt filthie vnchaſt perſouns, little knewe he the honourable cariage of perſons of estate, in the courtes of Princes, and that made him wreſt ſuch lies, and ſo we graunt he maie weeſe be called a shameleſſe poet, yea the moſt shameleſſe in that facultie in our age, or that hath beene in anie age before us. Paris in Fraunce can weeſe witnes the honest cariage of this man, and his goode expeſience he had in ſuch baudie maters, as he hath published abroade in the world, and nowe is not eſhamed to repeate, with a braſen face, defilinge the aire and offendinge your chaſte eares. As for my ſelff, I can neither heare with patience ſuch filth, nor ſpeakē of it openlie, leaſt I ſhould be faide to paſſe the boundes of moſtētie and honeſtie. But he couched vp his baudie coniectoures and filthie ſuſpicions vnder ſuch vnhoneſt tearmes and ſpeech, that Sardanapalus him ſelff, nor Epicurus,

Buchannan.

maie seeme not to hawe beene so weeke acquainted and practised in Venus games, as this filthie epicure is. Let his Leonoras and Elisaes, and the rest of this mans filthie companions witnes this. Fie vpon the filthie baude, was thou not eshamed to range and drauke thy renouned louveraigne mistres amongest thy Elisaes and Leonoraes ? If thou haddest knownen wherupon to founde the prowes of the alledged faultes, which thou, shamelesse willaine, charges thy Prince with, thowe woldest not hawe recourse to thy filthie lowes, to drawe theroff presumptions no waies fitting the purpose ; thou woldest not openlie before the world belie the honour, wertue, chasitie and honeftie of so greate a Princes, weeke knownen in Fraunce of all the greate estates ther, and which had newer beenes euill thought of in Scotland, but by the and thy complices here present, disloiale traitours, and more then capitall spitefull ennemis of your mistres.

Touchinge the fourte article of ther accusatioun, the urge her with the litle and small account that shes made of her husband after his death, asweele in regarde of the sorrowe, as in respect of his buriall. O, howe easie a thinge it is to finde faulte with those who excell in manie thinges, be it vertue, honour, or riches ; in ther greatest fortune is there least libertie, saith Salustius, for they can do no thinge so dexterouslie, that ther ennemis do not finde meanes to gainefaie by finifter interpretatioun. The corpes of this Prince, after her Maiestie had beheld it with the sorrowfullest hearte that could be, and sheddinge teares plentifullie with great commiseratioun, was by her commandement enbaulmed and wrapt vp in fearecloth, and then enterred by my Lord Justice Clarke, the Larde of Traquhare and these of the nobilitie, who wer then at courte, amongst the sepultures of the Kinges her owen auncestours, and where Kinge James 5 her Maiesties father had beene buried. Coulde shes burie him in a more honourable place ? If the ceremonies of the funerall wer not such as it was meete, wherunto shold one impute the

faalte ? Her Maiesties desire had no place, who greadie desired that such ceremonies shoulde hawe beene used, as wer accustomed to be done at the enteringe of the Kinges her predeceſſouris, but ther was not anie perſon to performe her will. As for the councell they wer ſecretlie of the rebelles factioune. As touchinge her ſorrowe, did ſhee not keepe her cloſet ? was ſhee not longe enough without ſeeinge daie ? what affurance had ſhee of her liſt, if ſhee had continuowd ſtill in one place ſo longe as ſhee defiſed, if ſhee had not betime chaunged her ludginge to preuent your commotions and treacheries againſt her, who alſo before had killed her husband ? Shee knewe weele that you had killed her husband, and that you wold not content yourſelwes with that offence and facte, onles you compaffed the remainder. Shee feared your deſignes not without goode caufe, the effectes of your goode will, after followinge, gaſiwe sufficient and certane prowe, that ſhee of right ought to hawe doubted you, and not to ſoiourne ſo longe in one place, but to remoue often without your knowledge afmuch as ſhe coulde. You mocked and iefted amongeſt yourſelwes at the keepinge of her cloſet, at her candle, at her blacke mourninge attire ; nowe you blame her that ſhee tooke not longe enough time in performinge theſe deuuties, which you helde in conſcience to be ſuperſtitious, and you do inferre ſhee killed her husband. O ſtrange concluſions ! I praiſe you, wold anie of you be content, that anie of you ſhould be faide to hawe killed your wiwes, if you hapned not to keepe all the accustomed ceremonies of murninge after ther deathe ? or do your wiwes murne thus for ther husbands, as ſhee did for hers ? or hawe your mothers doone the like for [ther] husbandes ? You knowe weele they hawe not : albeit ſhee had doone none of the thinges you do require, it is not a thinge ſo reprehensible and blamewoortheſie or odious, as you wold make it ; you can newer name anie Queene in Scotland, that hath doone as you alledge. You ought not to meaſure this Queene by the factes of otheris, who wer no things ellis after the deceafe of ther

husbands but Douriers. Shee after the deathe of her husband was a foweraigne Queene ; shee helde no thinge of her husband, but on the contrarie, he had no thinge but what he helde of her. Nowe to conclude this article, if in her soule shée had iudged her selff culpable of his death, had shée not witt enough to disguise the faulfe by exquisite and sumpteous funerallis, with outcryinges and lamentatiouns, and all other inwentiounes and singularities, which it had beene possible to dewise, which is usuallie done of thoſe who wold obscure and cower ſuch a facte. This obiection doeth merite no anſwere, it is ſo friwolous.

Lett us come therefore to the fifte, which is the moft pregnant and biting of all, which alone ſeemeth to hawe ſo greate weighte, that the presumption riſing theroff ſhould beare awaie the definitiue ſentence of this controuerſie. For theſe woordes, ſhee had maried the murderer of her husband, follie and ſimplie pronounced, giue ſuſh a deepe and violent impreſſion, that the hearte of thoſe who conſidereth it, beinge no otherwiſe informed in theſe affaires, and owerpaſſe maters that the lieue no ſcruple nor doublē, but that ſhee was conſentinge to the murder : But when the deede ſhalbe with the circumſtances diſcovered as it befell, her accuſars, that impoſe vpon her this crime, darre not ſhewe ther faces before this compagnie, althought it wer of ſteile which can not bluſhe, ſo shameleſſe, ſo auſſured and framed they ar in ther impudencie. If the firſt propoſinge of this mariage had beene intimated by her Maieſtie, if it had beene made and accorded by her meere motion, and executed by her owen onlie will, without forcinge and vrginge of anie other, ther might hawe beene iuſte occaſion to ſuſpect the worse ; but if they, who do this daie blame her, hawe beene themſelues the authouris theroff ; if they hawe forced her Maieſties will to giue her conſent therunto ; if they, by forcible reaſons, hawe induc'd her therunto ; if by threates and foure boaſtinge, they hawe forced her to do it, howe darre they ſtone her for a worke proceedinge from ther owen

cunninge? howe can they condemne the faulte of ther owen fundation? Methinkes I see the old men before me which accused Susanna, and the wiff of Putiphor, that fallfie accused Joseph of the crime wheroff he was innocent and shee culpable: Hawe you ewer such Scogganizine? He was most leude fellowe who, to cower his wickednes, did ordinarilie impose and returne and retorte them vpon thoſe whom he had induced to do faultes; wherupon came the proverb, plaie you the Scoggin with me? which is afimuch as to ſaie, as if after you hawe beaten me, you complaine firſt your ſelff. The English vnderſtand weeſe this worde. Hould, heire be the letters of Murraie goinge into Fraunce, reade, perufe and confider them; and you, Sirs, the accufars, knowe you your wretinges, marke the ſignes of your handes: and as he thus ſaide, he produced Murraies letters and ſome other of his complices, by which he councelled his miſtres not onlie to take the Earle of Boithuell to her hufband, but threatned her alſo with greate inconveniences, if ſhee refuſed him. Ther was alſo produced a proiect to this mariage ſigned by the accufars, and of the more parte of the nobilitie deliuered into Boithuelles handes, to ſhewe to her Maieftie ther reſolution, and that ſhee muſt needes go that waie, if ſhee wold not endure that which was worse. And in ſhewinge this contract, he coninuewed his ſpeech, ſayinge, you can not denie your ſubſcriptions to theſe letters, you can not miſtake your ſignes ap- poſed to this contract: we deſire alſo that you wold vnderſtand, aknowe- ledge and confeſſe the greate commendatiouns of Boithwell, which you ſonge dailie to her Maieftie, the affrighters and brages you made, if ſhee diſt not marie him. Shee had put him into your handes to the end to do iuſtice, you diſclare him innocent of the crime, and hawe exempted him from punishment, that by iuſtice was due vnto him, giwinge ten thouſand mockes and floutes for punishment to her maieftie to drawe her to this diſhonour, and conſtraine her to accept of that partie ſo liitle ſortinge to her greatnes. Remember your ſelwes of your glorious othes,

with protestatiouns of perpetuall fidelitie, if it pleased her to accept of him, whom you would name to serwe her for a goode and loiale companion, to affist her in all her afairs, to confort her in all her difficulties, and to defend her againts the assaultes of her ennemis.

And nowe as touchinge you, wnworthie man, dessemblinge and traitorous hypocrite Bis hope of Orkneie, ar you not eschamed to shewe your selff in this companie ? Was not you that made the mariage you nowe blame ? was not you that ioined them together in face of holie Church ? was it not you that gaiwe the nuptiall benediction ? who ewer forced you to do it ? whie do you not make declaratioun of this iniuste imposition ? whie do you not thinke that you hawe committed treason to conceale your mistres, that he that was about to marie her was the deathe of her husbande ? Should you hawe made the mariage, hawinge your conscience charged with this knownen sinne ? The duetie of a Bis hope and order which you hold in the church commandeth you to refist it and hinder it. Her Maiestie hath ewer beene an obedient child to the church, and wold not hawe beene so obstinat as to hawe withstoode the ordinances of the church, if you wold hawe used newer so litle authoritie, and hawe shewen her the faulfe of the mariage : you should then hawe done that which this daie you doe : you had faiwed the honoure of your mistres, and the liff of manie a goode gentleman, which, by reason of your silence, be deade in the quarrell. Ther bloode is to be required at your handes, and one daie you ar to aunswere it. Blushe, blushe, if you hawe anie shame or conscience, blushe you sonnes of the father of lies, in accusinge the dead, wheroff you your selwes be the onlie authouris. The most constant woman in the world, hawinge past the extremitie of fortune, as this ladie hath done, and hawinge to do with men of your humour, beinge all sett on mischeiffe, durste not hawe taken other resolution, but that which by her hath beene taken maugrie her intention, minde and desire : and yeet shee sweareth, and solemnlie protesteth, that shee wold

hawe rather died ten thousand deathes, if it had been possible, then to hawe consented to this mariage, if shée had had the least suspition in all the world, that Boithwell had beene partaker in the treacherie of her husbandes death. But her rebelles which nowe accuse her, hawe ewer perswaded her the contrarie, till shée had deliwered vp her selff into ther handes at Carbarriehill, where and when they begann to chaunge ther toungues, and giwe her first to understand ther willenie in accufinge him, whom before they had so heighlie commended vnto her. It is weelee seene at this instant to what end these commendations wer giwen, the werie marke and designe of such threateninge is weelee perceiued was not anie lowe they bare to Boithwell, but a bate to trape ther mistres; it was not the goode of the realme, as they feineed and made shewe of, but the scandale and honour of her Maiestie to serwe for the advancement of ther cause, and to open the waie to usurpatioun of the croune and state, in spoilinge her, as you sie, by force, to whome by right of nature it belongeth. The landes stand for her to be restored so farre foorth, that all action should be denied them, that hawe vniuiflie and with publick force rebelled against her, and bereawed her her right.

But ther refeth yeet one pointe not to be paffed ower in silence, which is the reportes and confessiouns made vpon the torture by two or thrie of Boithwelles serwantes, that wer condemned to death for participatinge in this cruell parricide. God knoweth what that torture of the bootes and rackewill make a man, thorowe the paine theroff, to confesse and saie ewen of himselff, let be of others. Alace, what course of lawe was it that her Maiesties mortall ennemis should make the interrogatories, prompte ther aunswers who wer tormented and prompte ther confessions, such[as] they best pleased to hawe them make, and to cause wrete whatsoewer they pleafed to dewise they saide to touch the honour of ther mistres. In the proceffe of this verball question, you see not one worde of Morton, or of

his cusinge Mr Archebalde Douglas ; and yeet they wer boith charged by these that wer tortured, the one, that he signed with his hand the conspiracie of this parricidē, for the which after he iustlie was executed ; the other, that he was present at the cruell facte in person. But these wer not they which they fought after : they wold hawe none but thē whom thē named in ewerie interrogatorie in urginge the crime vpon the tormented pacientes. What hawe they in the end saide to her prejudice, and in what hawe they charged her, lett us see. I prarie you consider and examine the articles of your verball proceſſe, of the which you do make your standard and banner in all your calumnious libellis, and which you hawe allone for all your prowe inserted in the confefſion of John Hepbron in theſe woordes :—Let no man do euil at the perſuasion of the greate, thinking that they will faiwe them ; for I thought the ſame nighte the murder was doone, it came to ewerie mannes knowledgement, yeet that none durft be fo bold as to faie, it was euill doone, ſeinge the ſubſcription of the handes of fo manie persons, knowinge it to be the intention of the Queene.

See all that you can extorte from theſe poore miſerable ſoules, by your owen information against your foweraigne ladie and miſtres. See all that which you can builde with fo manie cruell blowes of your bittle and mallet, your ſelff beinge ther promoters, contentinge you in that one of them hath ſpoken ſomewhaſt to the diſgrace of your Queene by your iſtigatioun. But I prarie you, let [us] come to the neare triall of the mater : Howe knewe he it to be the Queenes intention and minde ? hath he ſpoken with her ? or hath ſhee euer declared to him her intention ? Shee wold newer hawe beene fo fooliſh, if ſhee had gone about anie ſuch thinge, and you can not be bolde to afferme it for the open shame of the world : how did he knowe it then ? by the report of Boithwell his maiftre ? That might weeſe be, that Boithwell gaiwe him to understand, that the intention of her Maieftie was ſuch, to the

end he might the better compasse the attempt he went about. But most certane it is, that Boithwell hath ewer discharged her Maiestie of the crime, yea, in the werie point of death he did sweare and protest her innocencie, that he newer hard her speake of the conspiracie, but that the accusers ther present wer the authouris, principall interposers and negotiatouris, that putt in his heade this vnhappy and abominable deigne, and that hawe subscribed and sealed with ther handes it, before that ewer he thought vpon anie such thing.

I pracie you let me vnderstand, whether they had anie care to examine this John Hepbron anent the subscriptions mentioned in his confession, knowinge weeble that it was them felwes and ther companions of which he spoke, as in the like Tala, Daglishe and Paris, they did not care to make anie inquisition concerninge the manuell subscriptions alleged ; all of them beinge in the executioners handes, and readie to suffer, discharged the Queene, reiecting all the cause of the crime, and the execution theroff vpon them which made shewe to rewenge it, yea, some of the French men that suffered for the fact wer so plaine, that before ther death they openlie, vpon the scaffolle, did namelie repeate the names of all the nobilitie conspiratouris, that had subscribed vnto the murder and subsequent mariage, beginninge with Murraie and Morton, chargeinge them to be the first authouris, and the principall cauffers of boith.

But this no newes nor strange thinge for them that hawe committed anie great treason, to go about with tooth and naile to make the same be punished in the persons of innocentes, as our accusers hawe done, findinge in ther confidences them felwes guiltie of the parricide, hawe made fixe or fewen innocenter persons then them felwes suffer death, that they may faie they hawe done iustice, and to be thought themselwes cleare of the facte. Allace, they might soone cause these poore creatouris, without supporte, without freindis, and without meanes, to faie what the

wold hawe them, and than putt them to death for ther rewarde when they had doone, notwithstandinge they promesed them fawour if they wold charge the Queene, and hence came that suggested deposition of the said Hepbron alledged. I pracie you tell me, how hapned it that they did not atteach Sir James Balfoure, whome they did weeke knowe to stand charged by the depositions of thoſe damned persons whom they made to be executed? Because he wold hawe discouered the potte of roses: He knewe all the mysterie, and had the handes of Murraie, Morton and ther complices, as he had ſince made it knownen ſome fewe yeares after to the Kinge and to his councell, that wer at ſome oddes and diſſention with the faide Morton. What perſuite hawe they made againſt Mr Archebalde Douglaffe, that was the cheiff man at the murder of this diſtrefſed Prince? You ſie then, my Lordes, the apparence that ther is in the presumptiones vpon which they founde ther accuſatioun. But if you pleafe to conſider the contrarie presumptiones that ferwe for the diſcharge of her roiale Maieſtie, you ſhall ſee the accuſers ſo compaſſed in ther afairs, that they ſhall newer be able to finde an outgate for themſelues.

1. Touchinge the firſt, I wold willinglie aſke you, whome will you ewer make to beliue, that ſhee wold hawe yeelded her ſelff fo frielie, and without constrainte, into the handes of her ennemis at Carbarrie hill, if her conſcience had condemned her of this cruell murder? 2. What proſite could ſhee hawe by ſuch her cruetie? As for her husband, was he not younge, beautifull, and more agreeable ewerie waie then Boithuel? If ſhee had beene ſo light and giwen to her pleafures, as her ennemis ſaie, the liſfe of her husband wold hawe ſerwed her better for the effect of her deſires then his death; for beſides the enioyinge of his perſonne, ſo faire as was poſſible, younge, luſtie, nimble, ſhee might hawe had Bothuellis compagnie at her pleafur, which for her had beene better as a freind then as a husband, and wold hawe thought him ſelff

most happie to hawe serwed such a ladie; and if shée had beene willinge, no man could hawe hindered it, shée hawinge witt enough to hawe awoided suspition, and to take her pleasure, and that without scandall. Seeinge then, they can alledge no other reason then this, by which they can argue and taxe her of so horrible a crime, they must rest them selwes content with reason more peremptorie, which shée had to conferwe her selff from it: 3. The mortall enimitie which Murraie and his adherentes did beare to this Prince ewer since his mariage, and the feare that the saide Murraie had to be killed by him before, for beinge miscontent with him selff, that he was so willanouſlie abused by his councell, and induced to murder the poore Secretarie by the accusatiouns and exquifite lies, he was resolwed and purposed to rewenge this death vpon Murraie, and vpon the rest of the actouris and iſtigatours of it. For the 4. the ambitious pride, infatiablie defire of Murraie, which manifestlie appeareth by the ſubftitution to the croune which he required, and adiudginge it to the name onlie of the Steuarde, and naming him selff and his iſſue to hawe the firſt place, and by the hinderances he made dailie to ſtoppe the mariages of her Maieftie, and by the ambuſhes he prepared for her Maiefties selff, and her hulband and his father to kill him, by the cauffes of diſcorde and diworce ſewed out by him, brieflie by the uſurpation of the croune and the gowernement, which we ſee this daie in his handes. 5. The departinge and abſentinge of Murraie, the daie before the murder was committed, from the courte, to exempt him selff from ſuspition that he knewe anie thinge theroff, when, notwithstandinge, within a fewe daies after, the Lord Harrife, heir preſent, ſaide to your face openlie at your owen table, Murraie, amongeſt vther table talke ſaide to him, this nighte before the morninge the Lord Dernlie ſhall looſe his liffe. And thus ſaide, he biddeth the Lord Harrife ſpeake as he wold aunſwer to God in this pointe, and held his peace, till the ſaide

Lorde had ended his speeche, beginninge thus: I N. Lord Harrie do charge you, N. Murraie, that within a few daies after the Lord Dernlie was cruellie murdered, I plainlie and trulie burdened you with the foireknowledge of the same murder, because, that before your ridinge into Fiffe, with one of your most trustie ferwantes the same daie wherin you departed from Edinburgh, saide to me, amongst other table talke then, This night, before the morninge, the Lord Dernelie shall loose his liffe. Denie this if you darre or can. Heir vpon my honour, I am redie to defend with my bodie, liffe, lands and goods, so longe as I hawe breth, against the false diffembling traitours, and all others of your faction whatsoewer. And thus saide the Lord held, and the speaker beganne againe, proceedinge thus: Nowe, my Lordes, judge you indifferentlie, and to verifie my lordes speaches against Murraie, it is alledged, he reiterated the same woordes to a freinde of his the same werie daie, when as they wer in the boate passinge the ferrie touardes Fiffe. 6. The contract of mariage with Boithwell was signed by these accusars. And 7. The instrument of conspiracie by them subscribed and sealed with ther armes, containinge the promise made to him that shoulde kill the Kinge, to defend and mantaine him against all that should perfue. To which accorde the depositiouns of John Hepborn, Daglish, Paris and others, made at the werie pointe of ther deathes in a most frequent and affluence, when they reckned on the names of the Lordes of the nobilitie who wer guiltie of the faide murder; as also did the strangers which wer executed; whom the people hearinge, asked what the man saide of the nobilitie, Murraies favorites, hearinge all his faction named asweele as others, thurste the people abake from the scaffold that they should heare no more, and, to satissie the people, tolde them, that they asked my Lord Regentes grace (which is Murraie) forgiwenes, for that they had refisted his authoritie, and craiwed him pardon in the younge Kinges behalfe for the cruell

murder. Marke, marke weeble, my Lordes, ponder, weie and consider.  
On the contrarie, ther was newer founde anie one witnes that could  
charge her Maiestie with anie faulte, nor yeet did anie of these who  
suffered, burden her in ther depositiouns, they beinge scanned and  
pondered consonable accordinge to the course of lawe, with the  
knowledgement of the murder.

These presumptions, which be much more forcible then these of the contrarie partie, weie them weele, adwisse vpon them ; and to them will adioine the absolution of Boithwel, graunted by them, ther greate malice, who, in steade of aduertising her Maiestie that the faide Boithwell was the murderer of her husband, praised him ewerie daie, by meanes of which ther praises, and incace her Maiestie did make anie leaft signe of mislike of anie ther speeches, they threatned and affrighted her so, that they constrained her to marie him, which was the butte they shottte at, that they might hawe some apparent reason to invade the estate, and dispossesse her of the croune. And albeit all other presumptions and coniectours should ceafe, the instant proceffe they make against her sheweth the greate interest which they hawe, what ther intention is, and that it was not anie zeale of iustice which leadeth them.

maffacred him, and beinge deade, they plaie the goode willans, they runne after the theiwes, beinge the most theiwes them selwes; they pursue them that be lefft in faulte, not touchinge the cheiffe authouris, conductouris and executers of the cruell fact, for feare they should be forced, if the lawe had the due execution, to accompanie them to the gallowes, whom they hawe send thither. Murraie hath seased him selff of the estate, as did the difloiale traitoure Vortiger.: he hath made him self Kinge, and Morton his liwetenant, and boith be the sworne mortall ennemis of ther mistres, and of her late husband; and yeet ar they so foolishe as to thinke to make them selwes to appeare to be innocent, puttinge her in the ranke of them that they hawe made to die for executinge the treasons and willanies by them commanded and done.

They hawe weele learned the deceate of Donewalde, sometime capitain of the castle of Forres in Scotland, in the province of Murraie, who murdered his liege lord Duffus, and punished cruellie manie innocentes, cruellie murderinge them for the feule facte which he him selff had done. But the Lord God in his mercie, who newer leaweth such cruell factes vnpunished, and the blooде of poore innocentes onrewenged, by a notable miracle made the authouris of the cruell murder manifest, and use being maide of extraordinarie woonder, cauffed ewerie man be ewerie carfull to seeke out the authouris of the cruell murder. The funne did not shewe his lighte after this murder the space of sixe monethes ower Scotland, which made all the people to looke more strictlie in the mater, and speciallie the Lordes of the courte, who perceiwinge Gods angrie countenance towarde the whole land, by all meanes possible laboured to bringe the crueltie to light, and consultinge amongst them selwes deliberatlie, beganne to suspe&t the too too busie heade and the crueltie of this capitain, in punishinge manie simple people as thoughte they had beene the doars of the crueltie, and by diligent enquirie in the ende founde the faide Donewald and his wiffe and

familiar freindes and ferwands, to be the onlie committers of the crueltie, whom all they punished accordinglye.

Of later time, Robert 3. of that name, Kinge of Scotland, putt his eldest sonne in the handes of the Duke of Albanie his vncle, to be brought vp and trained by him in all honourable vertue belenginge to such a Prince; but in steade theroff, this wiked man, makinge haiste and aspiringe to the croune after the deathe of his decripeite sicklie brother, keepte this younge gentle man, then Duke of Rothesay, in stronge captiuitie at Falkland in preson, where he so pined him with famine, that after he had eaten whatsoewer came to his hand, at last he did eate also his owen fingers, and in the end died. The authour of this cruell parricide purged him selff to the Kinge of the cruell faete, and barbaroullie in his furie putt them to death for it that could do no thinge in it, and that had newer seene nor knownen this younge Prince.

Beholde the men of whom our Machiavilliane hawe learned to practise such treacherie! Beholde the men of whome they hawe learned to coulour ther crimes, and to cloake them with the culouris of equitie, iustice and conscience, and to impose vpon this innocent Princes; the crime wheroff they coulde not cleare nor excuse them selwes before anie competent indifferent iudge, to whom of right the knowledges theroff should appertaine. And I affurre my selff, my Lordes, albeit you be such as can not pretend anie iurisdiction in this cause, that they durst not yeet appeare before you, wer it not for the favours and backinge of some of the greatest men of the courte and councell of England: and moireower we wold hawe you to knowe, we be not come heire to craiwe iustice at your handes by reason of the iniuries and wronges doone to the Queene our mistres by her vnnaturall subiectes, God, who hath anointed her, hawinge giwen her the sworde of iustice in her owen handes, to chaffise them accordings to ther demerites, but to roote out of your heartes the finifter opinions which her ennemis

might impreffe in your heartes and mindes, by false reportes and lies. That which shee at this present demaundeth of the Queene of England, her goode sister, is, that shee will affist her for the full restoringe of her to her estate accordinge to her former promeſes and ſince her affliction: vpon the which ſhee held her ſelff affured, albeit ſhee might hawe werie readie help elſewhere. Shee relieth her ſelff cheiflie vpon her, and more then anie other her allies for the desire ſhee hath nowe to be obliged to her, giwinge this honour for her that ſhee is neare of bloode vnto her, that accordinge to the comoune order and courſe of nature, ſhee is to ſucceede to her, to her croune and roiale dignitie, if it ſhall please God to call her before her deceafe.

When theſe ſpeeches wer ended, the accuſars brought for replie, the ordinances of the eſtates helde by them in Scotland, ſayinge, ther was no neede of anie other prooffe to proceede in iudgment of condenmation againſt ther miſtres, prayinge the Commiſſioners to paſſe yeet forder and giwe iudgment: To which they aunſwered, that it exceeded ther power, it beinge otherwife apointed by the Queene ther miſtres; they ſaide they wer onlie appointed to heare the muuall complaints and the reaſons of the two pairties, and to relate to her Maiesties councell which they had promeſed to do: giwinge in the meantime certane affignatioun to the one and the other, to appeare before ther miſtres and her councell at London; whither they returned, reportinge faithfullie all the de-ductiōns and the allegatiōns before them: They forder declared, what they coulde perceiue the Queene of Scottes was innocent of all the crimes faſlie on her, impoſed by the accuſars, her ſubiectes and diſloiale traitouris, and that they them ſelwes wer the authoures of all the horriblie factes they accuſed her off, and that the perſuite they made was to exempt them ſelwes from the crime by them committed, think-inge by this meanes to purge them ſelwes, and to cower ther violent tyrannie and damnable uſurped authoritie in Scotland, which they had

inwaded, vnto the which the Queene shoulde and ought to be restored: they exhorted and councelled Queene Elizabeth to ioine hand with her, for manie iuste and goode consideratiounes. According to this adwise, the greatest of her councell, and namelie the auncient nobilitie of England, proposed thrie meanes to direct and order all that which was past, and to sett this ladie in her throne, makinge in the meane time Elizabeth sure of hers. 1. The first was that shee shoulde giwe assurance to Queene Elizabeth not to moleft, or truble, or disquiet her in the fuc-caffion fallen to her person by the title of the croune of England. 2. The seconde, that shee shoulde agrie with her rebellis and disobedient subiectes, and extend her clemencie towardes them, giwinge them pardon and remission of all ther offences, in publishinge them frie and quite of them; accordinge as her goode fitter the Queene of England, and her nobilitie and councell founde it meete shee shoulde do. 3. The thirde, that shee shoulde consent to be mared to some noble person of England, that might binde him selff for her to keepe all these promeses that shee made to the saide Queene and her subiectes, which might be the true meanes to keepe these two realmes in perpetuall amitie and freindshipe in all times heirafter to come.

They forder added, that by ther adwise, that the Queene of Scottes, hawinge gott so goode reputatioun and name, by her generous and noble actes and greate wertue, that it wold not nor shoulde not be taken from her darkned, depriwed or obscured, no not by her ennemis, and hawinge so wifelie governed her selff befor, and so constantlie and patientlie suffered aduersities, shee seemed to them woorthie to be aknowledged and receivied into her right of laufull heire apparent and second person to succede the Queene of England, and to raigne ower them as ther foweraigne when the time shoule come, beinge nearer by bloode and succession then anie other that could be presented.

These speeches no thinge pleased Queene Elizabeth, nor her greatest

faworites, which had an other hammer batinge in her heade, then the adwaancement, profite and quiet of the Queene of Scottes, whom they de- fired to hawe had a hundredth foote vnder the ground, and also her sonne for the greate hinderance he was to ther desigues, which was not at that time knownen, as since it hath beene, to continowe the succession of the croune of England from bastarde to bastarde, which was the cause that not onlie the Lords, which put this opinion on foote, hawe beene after greatlie afflicted in ther persons and goodes by false crimes urged against them, of those of the faction of the dewilish Machiavillian traitour Leicester ; but also, that the Queene of Scottes hath beene rigoroufie handled and committed to more cloffe warde, beinge putt in the handes of the Earle of Huntington, Leicesters brother in lawe, who also was in confederatioun with Murraie, as for the right which shee pretended to the croune of England, and the feare that they had the said ladie should be declared seconde person of the realme to succeede vnto Elizabeth. Huntington, as he was commanded of Leicester, who then bare him selff as kinge, in regarde of the greate fawour he was in with Elizabeth, boith openlie and secretlie, offered this ladie his presoner, manie willanies onworthie to be endured of the basest woman in England, which, for shame of him selff, and staininge of his honour, he should hawe not doone.

Nowe to returne to the Queenes rebelles, Murraie and his complices. The daie nowe come of the appointed affignatioun to the parties by Elizabethes Commissioneris to appeare before her ; they came accordinglie, and shee perceiwinge the accusars troden vnder foote through diffidence of ther cause, makinge the other go aside, shee shoue them howe little diligence they had used at Yorke, to make ther mater goode, and if they did not better, shee should be constrained to send backe ther mistres into her kingdome, and that shee could not of her honour refuse nor denie her the succour and support shee demaunded her. But if on the con- trarie, they wold take curage to prosecut her direclie before the coun-

cell of England, touchinge the murder of her husband, shee wold affure them of her aide and assistance, and of the issue of the processe accordinge to ther desire. The accusars, being animated by these promises, saide they wold deliver ther plea in wrete ; which libell at ther desire Buchanan composed in Latine, and impudentlie, (without regard of God, honour of his prince and natvie cuntrie,) he declaimed it at London in pre- Histor. Scot.  
L. 1. 18.

fence of Elizabeth and her councell, where he had manie afloote and moke of them for his paines, althought otherwise they did approue his purpose, and the marke that he shotte at weeble, which was the disgrace of his mistres, of whome he held his liffe, and all the meanes he had in the world.

The occasion that made him so spitefull against her was, because her renouned father had banished him for certane pointes of Lutheranism; wheroff since he had recanted, and it is weeble knownen that this baudie fellowe, the filthiest of men, and dungehill, finke and pudle of filthe, chaunged his religion and faith as he did places where he travelled : England, Scotland, Fraunce and Portugall, can weeble witnes this to be true. The persons, with whome he was conversant in these places, and his liffe, hawe leste ample testimonies theroff to the wiewe of the world. When he could rest no where, this mercifull ladie, at the entreatie of traitour Murraie, called him from banisment, gaiwe him meanes to liwe honestlie about the courte, shee gaiwe him besides the keepinge of the priwie seale to make his benefite by the fees theroff. Yeet all this notwithstandinge, this vnthankfull cruell willaine, for the olde hatred which he caried against her Maiesties deceased father, was ewer opposite vnto her, and to all these that touched her in bloode or laufull parentage, hateinge them spitefullie, turninge him selff, and whatsoewer he could do by wrete, to her mortall ennemis, who abroade without, and at home within the realme, enterprised against the liff and honour of ther mistres, and in all had he his parte in time of peace and warre, following Murraie and his complices desperatlie.

In the end, perceiwinge him selff to be afflicted with the goute, and his curage to be so much abated by the faultes of his youth, which wer theifrie and robberie, and whoredome of all sortes, besides gnathonicall flatterie, dissimulatioun and cufenage, he betaketh him selff to his penn, and wreteth infamous libell, defacinge the noble actes of all her Maiesties roiale aunceftouris, and the nobilitie of the realme, takinge all regall power, authoritie and foweraignitie from them, and puttinge the same in the handes of ther subiectes, who holde all that they hawe notwithstandinge of them: and this did to this onlie purpose to take all foweraignitie from his mistres and her sonne, to inwest his maister Murraie with the roiale dignitie, wherof the ftales of the kingdome weeble aduised and mowed with reason most iuste and apparent, they hawe, in open parliament, condemned his two libelles defamatorie bitekinges to vit, his historie of Scotland, and *De Jure regni apud Scotos*, prohibitinge all persons vpon the paine of greate punishmentes, and forfeites of ther goodes, to reade them or hawe them in ther poffession.

This monſter of men, and diſloiale traitour, abuſinge the knoweledge that God gaiwe him, came with the rebelles to helpe forewarde ther caufe before Queene Elizabeth, and in her preſence declamed his defamatorie libell, defaming his mistres with manie abominable lies, partlie invented by him ſelff and partlie ſuggeſted him by his maister Murraie and his complices, which maie weeble be reduced to the fixe headeſ which we hawe before ſpoken of, all the while the impudent rafcallie willane did declame; in her hearte Elizabeth did laugh and reioice to heare ſuſtuffe published in ſuſh an afſemblie, in regarde of the hatred ſhee ewer bare her, because ſhee wold newer refigne the right of ſucceſſion in her handes. He after adioined to this libell another as full of lies, of the pretended mariage of his mistres with the duke of Norffolke, with the maner of his proceſſe which he ſent to the Rochell, where it was traſlated in French by one who ſometime an atturneie at Poičtiou,

and nowe a fworde bearar, (as sometime was Buchannan, while his limmes serwed him), playinge the gentleman, a thinge too comone, and too much suffered in Fraunce, against the lawes, edictes and the ordinances.

This defamatorie libell declaimed conteined the Queene his mistres acuatioun, with all the circumstances they could invent, to make the forged crime probable. Her Maiesties agentes wer certifeed byther freindes of Elizabethes councell, of all her proceedinges with ther mistres rebelles in secrete, and that they should take heade to enter into contestatioun, in so much that the resolution of Elizabeth was certan, and without doubt, to declare ther mistres attainted and conwinced of the murder of her husband, notwithstandinge anie thinge shée could alledge to the contrarie of ther allegations for her owen iustification, and to send this iudgement to all Christian princes, to make her odious, and to hinder not onlie to giwe her anie succour, but also they should not care for her distres or sorrowes, and her death, which was the cause that her agent Commissioners, in fleade of contestatioun, denied the fact according to the power and commandement which they had, and wold newer passe forder, sithence the fact depended vpon the conscience of the accused. Yet accordinge to the ordinarie custome of iustice, and usuall forme in mater of crime, shée requested it might be permitted her to appeare in person in Elizabethes presence, by her mouth to defend her selff; sithen her accusars wer also ther receivied in person, and shée assured her selff shée should make them finde they them selwes wer the authours of that cruelle deed, which fallie and maliciouslie they imputed to her.

But this was cruelle denied boith to the Queene and her agentes, agaist all right and reasoun, and therfore boith scorned to make anie greater instance, thinkinge they should gaine no thinge therby, seeinge the countenance Elizabeth and her minions to cherise ther mistres accu-

fars. So her Maiesties Commissioners tolde Elizabeth plainlie, shee offered greate wronge not onlie to her selff, but to the name and honorable maiestie of all kinges, but in speciall to ther mistres being a foweraigne prince of her owen bloode and neareſt kinnifwoman, to be the authour, as it wer, and mantainer of a ſtigmatical flaiwe and willaine, to utter ſuch willanies againſt his owen mistres in her preſence in open afſembli. They tolde her alſo, that ther mistres wold not refufe to offer her ſelff to the triale of ſuch a compagnie of foweraigne kinges and queenes as the lawes did approwe, and abide at ther ſentence, whatſoever they ſhould adiudge her to vndergo; and ſhee, refufing this her lawfull offer, did offer violence to all the kinges and queenes of the earth, and did much prejudice her ſelff. They ſhowe her alſo, that ther mistres could not, nor wold not, aknowledge her for ſuperior or iudge, nor themſelues anie waies obliged to her as waſſalles; prayinge her to performe and acquit her promefe for ſuccouringe of her made and fworne ſo often to her by letters and ambaffadouris, which onlie thinge was the meanes to allure and drawe her into her realme, and without the which ſhee had beene longe ago redelie and weeſe ſuccoured by others, and without tyinge or bindinge her ſelff to giue them the hearinge her caufe, in expoſinge her ſelff to the laughinge or moking of anie. Yet notwithstandinge all this, nothinge was concluded. Elizabeth weeſe ſhewinge that [ſhe] was not ſorie, but tooke great pleafour in theſe false accuſations, and defired no better paſtime then to heare her coſinge reproched, which was a iuſte caufe and reaſon, that ſhee her ſelff after, in the courtes of all Christian princes, was the ſubiect of ther talke for her crueltie and wicked filthie whorife liſfe.

Throgmorton,  
Killigrew,  
Randolph.

But to the contrarie, the ſpeech of the Queenes agentes ſo mowed all goode men of the councell which ſtoode by, which wer of the auncient nobilitie of England, that they could hardlie conteine themſelues and endure ſuch indignities done vnto her, that was of the auncienteſt bloode

of ther kinges, yea, more auncient then that of which Elizabeth came, seinge shee, in the right of her father, did lineallie discend of the Englishe kinges blode, that wer before the conquest, as also they knewe her to be heire apparent of the croune, in such soiorte as they beganne to murmour, sayinge, that it wer goode the traitours wer cutte of at ther returne in Scotland, and that ther mistres wer sett home frie in her owen kingdome, and so doinge Elizabeth should purchesse her selff honour and a goode name, and acquite her faith and promise, so often made and sworne, wheroff none amongest them was ignorant.

Murraie aduertesed of these vnpleasant newes, seeinge that he had to do with the greatest estates of England, that could hawe doone all if they wold, returneth againe to his treasons and his accustomed practises, not without the adwixe and councell of Elizabeth, as shee was directed by her kinde freinde Leicester, who for her pleasour had murdered his owen wiffe, Cecile, the rebelles agent and promoter Walsingham, who all with her selff wer this distressed ladies mortall ennemis ; he, I saie, by ther adwixe offereth his fister, as who should saie by her consent, which was not required, nor shee made privie therto, in mariage to the duke of Norffolke, and promesed that if he wer that waie bente, he should not onlie hawe his consent, and the goode will of the nobilitie of Scotland, but he wold make the Queene his mistres to yelde her goode likinge and consent therto, and bringe all the cuntrie to ther due and naturall obedience. The Duke, thinkinge he did meane trulie as he spoke, and that he spoke the truth from his hearte, was werie glade, and did accept and like weeles of the ouverture, beliwinge he spoke in good earnest without fraude or deceate, and that he was by this meanes desirous to reconcile him selff to his mistres, he gaiwe him a good summe of money, which he was desirous to hawe to helpe fordwarde with his cause, and to beare the charges of the enterprise.

By this meanes the false traitour did much adwance him selff, haw-

inge readie monie to do it, so that onlie he obtained libertie and a free paßage to returne into Scotland, but extorte letters from the Queene, directed to her liwetennante, who leawied a great number of men to range and order her ennemis, that they should dismisse ther troupes, giwinge them to understand, that ther was in hand a meanes for her deliwerie wherwith they wold be weeble contented. When he tooke his leawe of Elizabeth he shewe her all this negotiation, and the contract of this mariage, declaringe further vnto her, that if shee suffered such a thinge to take place, it should be the readie meanes to take the croune of her heade and put it vpon her cusinges. The Duke of Norffolke beinge stonge and puissant, and weelbeloved and respected of the nobilitie, that wold not faile to affist him for the defence of the title of England, which shee had ewer challenged, not aknowledginge Elizabeth a lafull Queene, praied her still to continowe her goode will towardes him : as also Murraie did entreate Elizabeth to the same effect, and that shee wold affist him against the commone ennemis, knowinge alwaies that his fortune was ioind with hers, and that he wold not faile in anie pairte of duetie towardes her Maiestie, and that he wold be ewer faithfull and obedient to her, to honour, respect and serwe her with all those of his intelligence : he promesed also, that of this pointe he wold giwe her such assurance, as it should please her Maiestie to comande, if shee made anie doubte that his woerde wer not sufficient. To whom shee aunswered, that shee was not ignorant of the trafique betuine her cusinge the Queene of Scottes and the Duke of Norffolke, wishinge him to continowe that which he had begunne, and shewe a good countenance, for it might be the meanes to dispatch her honeftlie of them boith ; for touchinge the Duke, he beinge her waffall, shee could dispose of him at her pleasure, but as for her cusinge, shee saide shee feared the Kinge of Fraunce, and her parentes, that might be offended therwith, if shee did outrage her so manifestlie and apparentlie, and

fought no better occasion : yeit, if he would giwe her goode assurance and pledge, that shée should be ewer assisted by those of his partie in Scotland, and redie succoured if anie assaulte wer giwen her of the French, shée wold send him her cusinge home into her kingdome, and deliwer her into his handes to use her or abuse her at his pleasour, and that shée might see the meanes thus shée wished, that shée might washe her handes honestlie of her, so that he might compasse the end of his designes ; which shée promesed to further and help fordwarde with all her power, and constraine her to do so, albeit shée had no desire vnto it, her fortune beinge so strictlie tried and ioined with hers, that it could not be distracted and separated without evident ruine and losse of boith the one and the other.

To conclude, after manie speeches betuix them, it was agreed that the Prince of Scotland should be deliwered into England for a pledge, and some of the strongest fortresses of that kingdome deliwered to the Englishe, vpon that confideration, that the presoner should be sent backe into her owen cuntrie, and deliwered into the handes of Murraie : Wherby you maie most clearlie see the ambitious minde of the wicked woman, and her intention to appropriat to her selff a realme wherunto shée had no iuste title, and sease her selff boith vpon the mother and the sonne.

After Murraies departure, assuringe her selff of his promeses, shée beganne to make knownen the speech and conference that was betuine her and him, and shewē some litle tokens of feinyeed lowe and affection shée bare the Queene her cusinge ; for shée commaunded to warde her more strictlie then from the beginninge shée had, and depriwed her faithfull serwantes of the libertie they had before, to go in Scotland and returne as they best pleased : shée caused them to be staied by her guardes and the capitanes of her fortresses, and the letters they brought thence to her Maiefstie to be taken from them and opened ; holdinge, in the mean time, her heade in the water, without anie resolu-

tion of grace or dilgrace, goode will or euil will, succour or refuise ; all to hinder or giwe order to her afaires by other meanes, or to seeke aide and help of other her weeble willars. Shee also expellie discharged and forbiddre her to seeke for anie such meanes, threateninge her in cace that anie succour or support should come to her from Fraunce or Spaine for her restitucion, that shee wold send tuse so manie Englishe against them for the defence of the Scottishe vnnaturall rebellis, her mortall ennemis, so that shee shold gaine nothinge by takinge anie course besides her knowledg and good likinge, and assuringe her that her liffe shold aunswere for it : Wheroff you maie better iudge what goode will and affection Elizabeth did beare this ladie in her trubles, by thrie or foure of her letters shee wrete vnto her, complaininge of vnkindnes and vnnaturall crueltie against her practised flatlie contrarie to her promise and othes often reiterated by her owen letters vnder her hand, and her ambassadouris in her name.

The copies of Queene Marie her letters to Q. Elizabeth :

Queene Marie her letter to Q. Elizabeth.

MADAME, my goode fifter, so soone as I had receivewd your letters of my ferwant Borthuik, I dispatched my ferwant Alex<sup>r</sup> Boge into Scotlande, whose returne I hawe nowe expected tuintie daies ago, and heare no newes of him ; but hawe harde that my Lord of Hunisdon doeth afflit and fortifie my rebelles in person, accompanied with the garison of Berwicke, to putt in execution the usurped gowernement of Murraie and his complices ; and that a ferwante of the Duke of Chattelaroeh, which had alredie had his pasport, was sent backe and staied vpon Murraie his aduertisement, and his letters taken, which I do thinke wer for me ; which maketh me suppose it to be greate hazarde for me to heare anie newes out of Scotlande, if you do not take better ordour, and therfore I thought it not meete anie longer to deferre the dispatchinge of my councellour the Bishope of Roffe, the bearar of these presentes, to pracie you, that without regarde either of

attendinge the goode or bade dealinge of my subiectes, you will giwe me a resolute aunswere, and accordinge to my longe and earnest fute to setle me in my estate, or that you suffer me to seeke succoure of other Princes, my freindes and allies, for it is a whole yeare almost fithence I hawe attended your full resolution ; duringe which time my rebelles ar fortifeed, wherthrowe I can not by my goode delaie time longer onresolwed, as the Bishope of Roffe will giwe you more largelie to vnderstand on my paire. To whome desiringe you, as to my selff, to giwe credite, I will present my affectionat commendations to you : in the meane time I prai God, (goode madame) my goode fister, to keepe you longe in health and felicitie. From Wingefilde, 25 Aprile 1569.

Your most affectionat fister, &c.

M. R.

MADAME, Notwithstandinge you hawe commaunded by my L. of Shreuiisburie, and by my ferwant, that my ferwantes should hawe the same libertie to go and come that they had at Boulton ; but so it is, that my Lord of Hunisdon wold not suffer my ferwant Alex<sup>r</sup> Boge, hawinge the letteris of the saide Earle, accordinge to your commandement, for his transporte, but detained him foure daies till he receiwed letters from Murraie, that had ewer foughte my utter overthrowe. I beseech you, goode madame, that your officers maie not be permitted to debarre me of the libertie you asorde me, for I had rather it wer not giwen me at all, then so to be giwen me, and not to enioye it. And as touchinge the newes of Scotlande, Alex<sup>r</sup> Boge is intercepted with his letters, which the L. Hunisdon hath sent you them by an other after he had graunted him and an other of my ferwantes pasporte, wheroff you maie be better aduertised not of that which the Duke and his brother, the bishope, and the Lord Harries hawe written vnto me, of all which I will not feill to certifie you, (accordinge to my promese,) by the Bishope of Roffe, and make you vnderstand the truth of what I knowe in

Q. Marie her letter  
to Q. Elizabeth.

that busines ; desiringe you to consider the complaints which, in my behalfe, the saide Bishope shall shewe you, and to giwe me a breiffe resolution therin, to the end longe delaies make me not fall againe into the same inconveniences throwe greiffe and sorrowe, to be swallowed vp therin. And so committinge my minde in all things vnto my saide councellour, I take my leiwe, presentinge my heartiest commendatiounes vnto you, goode madame my sister, and prae your God and mine to giwe vs boith a longe and happie liffe. From Wingefilde, 26 Aprile 1569.

Your most affectionat sister, &c.

M. R.

Q. Marie to Q.  
Elizabeth.

MADAME, understandinge that the Bishope of Roffe, my councellour that I sent vnto you, had the same delaies and obiectiouns made, (to hinder the readie shewe of your goode will towardes me,) alledginge that I had made some contracte with my Lorde of Anjowe, brother to the Kinge my brother in lawe, which might prejudice you, I hawe forced my selff, beinge euil at ease in health by these bade wretin letters, to assure you vpon my conscience, honour and credite, (if you will beliue me,) that I hawe newer made contracte with him, nor anie other, touchinge anie thinge might prejudice you, nor yeet had ewer anie such mater in my heade so hazardfull and disadvantagious to the realme and my selff, as to make anie such contract and transmussion ; of which I will make you such prooffe and assurance, as you shall adwixe me, as the Bishope of Roffe will shewe you more at large, prayinge you to beliue him and excuse me, for I am not in health to wrete as the subiect and will I hawe to satisfie your minde in the foirsaides doeth require ; onlie I hawe strained my selff to giwe you this testimonie vnder my hand, vnto which I call God to witnes, and prae vnto him to hawe you in his protection. This Sundaie morninge, the 11 Maii 1569.

Your most affectionat, &c.

M. R.

There be manie mo copies of letters of like discourse written by her Maiestie, some in Englishe, some in French, asweele to Q. Elizabeth, and to the Earle of Leicester, by which one maie see manie consolationunes which they gawe this Ladie, which shée charged them with to hawe keepte her in suspence, fortefeinge in the meane while her owen disfolaile subiectes, and disarminge her goode and faithfull ones. Yee maie perceiwe howe Q. Elizabeth and her councell cause her letters be intercepted, to discouer all the afaires and intelligences which shée might hawe from Scotland of her faithfull subiectes yeet remaininge loiale, althought before they had giwen her libertie to do, that they might communicate all to traitoure Murraie, ther owen darlinge. You maie see howe they gaiwe frie pasporte and leawe to ther faithfull loiale subiectes, to go and come frielie without disturbance; and yeet, when they vnderstoode of ther iorneie, they made them be staied vpon the frontiers and bordouris, and giwe they caried anie letteris they wer taken from them; but findinge they caried none, then they were strictlie examined and charged with such thinges, as neither this ladie thought or dreamed of, nor anie shée sent from her: so honourable was ther graunted assurance of a frie pastport, that it became a snare to this goode ladie. They will afforde her no conforte, but lende ther helpinge hand and assistance to her ennemis, openlie sendinge garrisons to the frontiers to ioine with Murraie, when he wold emploie ther serwice to the greate dishonour of his mistres and the hurte of his natife cuntrie. Who is so blinde that he maie not weeble enough see and perceiwe the cunninge and the iuglinge craftes which wer, from time to time, invented to amase and truble this ladie, to keep her from all resolution? Whilles her r̄belles go forwarde to her preiudice and her yonge sonnes, the whole rewenneus of the croune beinge spent to further them in all ther traitorous attemptes, shée is molested with most iniust empresonment, her loiale subiectes by force of fire and swoorde, by Elizabeth

and her councell, driwen in exile, ther rewenneus seaſed vpon by the rebellis. Shee is made by them to be the onlie caufe of her owen miffortune, by imposinge vpon her that which ſhee newer fo much as thought vpon. They falſlie laie to her charge, that ſhee made ower to the Duke of Anjowe, her Maiefties brother in lawe, to giue vp and furrender the title which ſhee might hawe, or then had, to the croune of Englande, and that [to] truble Queene Elizabeth, which ſhee newer dreamed. We hawe feene howe Murraie, after his returne into Scotland, did ſhowe the face and countenance of a man that defird no thinge, but the deliuerie of his miſtres from her longesome and werisome preſon, boaſtinge it to be the things that he wold with all his poſſibilitie procure to eſtabliſhe a quiet peace in the cuntrie; and that he might make the mules ſleepe, and abuse the loiale true ſubiectes of the Queene, he ſent Sir Robert Melvill to her Maieftie, to ſounde her intention anent the mariage he had propounded to her with the Duke of Norffolke, not that he had anie meaninge to bringe it about, but onlie to bringe her in a ſnare, which after ſhee was iniuftlie charged with by the firſt dewifers theroff.

There is an aſſemblie of the nobilitie of Scotland apointed at St Johnſton, indifferent boith of theſe that ſtoode for the pairete of ther Soweraigne Ladie, as of theſe that ſtoode for the Englifhe faction and Murraie, with full purpose to emprefon and maſſacre thoſe that ſtoode faithfull and conſtant for ther miſtres; onles they, beinge certifeed of the intended treacherie againſt them, had come weeſe accompanied with freindes and ther kinnifolkes, to refiſt the garrifons that wer ſecreſtly prepared to the effect foirſaide. In the fittinge of this aſſemblie, the Duke of Norffolke wre vnto Murraie by a truſtie gentleman, puttinge him in minde of the promefe he had made him, that is, that he wold ſend him the ioint conſent of the nobilitie for his mariage with the Queene, wheroff him ſelff was the firſt authour and propounder, by the

council and Queen of England's advice, as he tolde him. Murray, in the meane while, hawinge catched the fishe in the nett, by the advise of his ennemis, as he was before cunninglie taught by Queen Elizabeth and her councell, feedes the messenger with faire woordes, and in all haist senteth the Duke his letter, by one whome he trusted with the busines, to the Queen of England, who, owinge otherwaise the Duke a grudge, desired but the least pretext or shewe of anie culour to make a dispatche of him, because he was weele favoured and lowed of the commone people and all honest men, and speciallie, because he was not so sharpe and rigorous in the behalfe of the captiue Queen as shee desired then when shee gaue him the commision, and because he condemned not her to die then, or at leaste ridle delte with her, to the goode likinges of her and her lyinge accusers. In which doinge shee sheweth her selff to be her fathers daughter, who putt manie to death, rather for that they wold not consent to the fulfillinge of his filthie lustes, then for anie loun he had to a true and sincere profession of anie religion, which he pretended they refusid to embrace, and so denied there due allegiance boith to ther God and him.

Thus was this simble man, not thinkinge anie harm to Q. Elizabeth, brought to his end, without whose aide shee had newer come to the crowne: He was apprehended and committed to the Toure of London by the treacherie of his ennemis, but speciallie Leicester, who bare him a priarie grudge, because he discovered to his mistres, that he mowed him to attempt the mariage of Queen Marie, and after at the command of Q. Elizabeth he gaue ower that busines; but Leicester did aninate and encourage him of newe againe to proceede, promesinge him it should not lie in his mistres Queen Elizabethes power to hinder the same. But most of all, it stirred vp Leicester to avenge him selff of the Duke, because on a time, he holdinge the bason to his mistres washinge her handes, after shee had done, Leicester presuminge to

washe, the Duke holdinge yeit the bason before anie other receiwed it out of his handes, he dashed bason and water vpon his face. So anie man maie eslie perceiwe, that the distresfed Princes and the Duke be both innocentlie accused of that they newer intended nor thought of, which they alledge that wer ther ennemis and calumniatouris, was to bereawē Queene Elizabethe of her croune and her liffe, by presuminge to bringe this mariage to passe without her goode will ; for howe coulde the Duke marie the Queene presoner without consent of the Queene Elizabeth and her councell, shee beinge so stronglie gairded as shee was ? Howe could shee passe frie, and be sett at libertie without ther knowledgē ? Whowe can be so shameleslie brasen faced to maintaine such a notorious lie ? All the nobilitie, all the commounē people, knewe weele the contrarie : ther was none of the Priwie councell of Elizabeth that helde it not onlie goode and most expedient, but also goode and profitable, that this mariage should be effectuated for the commone goode of all the Ilande of Greate Britainne : Onlie Bacon, keeper of the Broade Seale, stooode on the contrarie opinion.

Q. Elizabeth from the beginninge held this mariage goode, and likewise the enterprize in attemptinge it. Shee promesēd audience in the presence of her councell at diwers places for resolution, and hawe the same (for confirmatioun of it) lawe enacted that time and place did require. These faithles promesēs, newer meant to be keepte, wer made to the Duke, (he fend for to come thither), at Gifforde, at Farnham, at Basinge, at Athet, and diwers other places. But all was hindered, boith by the suspicioſe mistrustes Elizabeth naturallie ewer had arisinge in her selff, as likewise by the subtile practises of the faide Dukes ennemis and the captiue Queenes, by whose fleigtes and dewilishe doinges and enterprizes, they wer boithe brought in the snare, and to ther ondeserwed end : For from the werie beginninge of her raigne, Elizabeth newer liwed without feare and suspicion, yea, shee

was ewer in such care and anguishe of minde, that shee at all times was brought to such distrustfull miserie, that if in her fighete and presence two did speake and talke together, yea, althought it wer of ther owen domefticall afaires, they ar presentlie apprehended, committed and sharplie accused and examined, and in the end charged with treason; and if by ignorance, and in simplicitie, they croisse the interrogatorie made vnto them, and do speake doubtfullie, they ar attanted, condemned in hie treason, hanged, drawen and quartered; and to speake more plainlie, they be drawen to the gallowes on a hurdle, there bellie is ripped vp, and cutt in quarters, and ther heartes, yeet brethinge and pantinge, thrown into the fire.

The principall and chieffe cause that mowed Elizabeth to hate and distruste Marie was, because shee wold newer renounce nor giwe ower her right and title, which she had of the croune of England after her decease, and because shee wold newer consent that the younge [Prince] her sonne should be deliwered for hostage in England, for shee ewer saide, shee her selff alone had rather endur her captiuitie, then shee and he boith should be Elizabethes presoners to be used at her pleasure. It is weeke knownen howe Elizabeth, by the direction of her councell, send her ambafadoure in Scotland, wishing Murraie, at a certane daie shee apointed, to come to the frontiers and bordoures, there to receiwe the Queene his mistres, accordinge to the cowenantes and agrementes which shee with him and the rest of his disloiale faction had agreed vpon with her and her councell; but as the false hearted traitour was goinge on this iorneie, hawinge come the daie before from the younge kinge at Sterlinge, where he hade apointed his uncle the counte Marre to followe after with the younge kinge, to deliwer him pledge in England priwelie, so soone as he had receivied the mother his mistres, the nighte, daie, and all time nowe abhorringe this detestable treacherie, prowe to him onfortunate, his ruine approchinge vnto him; for the next daie

after he came from Sterlinge, as he was takinge horse at Lithquos to ride towarde Edinburghe, nowe he beinge alredie mounted, and enwironned rounde about with freindes, James Hammilton of Boidwelhauche did shoothe him from a gallerie with a harquebushe, wheroff he died the same werie nighte.

But in his end this to be noted, that his adulterous mother beinge weeble knownen and famous in sorcerie and witchcrafte, did send one in all haifte by poste to him at Sterlinge, wishinge him, as he lowed his liffe, not to vndertake that woiage and iorneie he was about, leaft it shoule prowe fatall vnto him: but who can hinder the ruine of him who had brought so manie miseries vpon his mistres, the younge kinge and nobilitie and the whole comounre wealth he was borne? It was weeble knownen that not manie yeares before, a dewilish witch beinge condemned to die in the fire and to be burned, the saide Murraie commandinge that they shoule take a barrell of gunne pouder to burne her with; when shee vnderstoode of the preparatioun of so much gunne pouder, beside the tarre barrellis that was prepared for the fire, shee burste foorth in the woords on a sudden, What needed all this gunne pouder? what needed my Lord of Murraie to prepare all this gunne pouder? les nor one ounce weighte shalbe his end: which thinge nowe we see accomplished. Belike the devill him selff knewe weeble he deserwed a mischeivous end for all his theſe treacheries foirſaide. I can not paſſe by one notable crueltie, whick he not longe before execute vpon the wiffe of the ſaide James Hamilton, whilk as he perfecuted all the name of Hammilton with fire and sworde, and with a puissant and ſtronge armie did owerthowre all ther fortes and caſtles, with ther other houſinge, with gunne pouder, at laſt he cometh to the house of him who killed him, and burned it amongett the reſt: but whilleas they ar puttinge to the fire, a gentle woman, accompanied with ſome others younge maides, caſteth them ſelff dounre on ther knies, with ther haire about ther ſhoulders, weepinge piti-

fullie, prayinge Murraie to pitie her poore fister, who was that nighte broughte to bed of a childe, neither of them like to liwe. But what should they prai? what should they mowe the harte of a merciles man, more harde then the flint or the adamant? He wold heare them; but commaunded that shee and her childe shoulde be brought foorth in a paire of double blankettes. In this meaneth commeth her husbande, and before shee was broughte foorth, he prostratinge him selff befoire the tyraunte, entreateth humblie favour for his wiffe, permittinge his house and all therin to the sawage furie of the man, he receiweth no other aunswere then saide gentlewoman did: he seeinge the rage of the cruell man vnapeasable, and his wiff and her childe broughte foorth amonkest the fire and smooke, half gaspinge for breath, and nowe like to perishe in the cruell flammes of the fire and smooke, burste out furiouslie in the woordes following, which after he performed in deed. I do woue and promese to the greate God, as you most cruelle without mercie denie my iuste and humble fute, and bring my poor wiffe and childe to this extreeme miserie, I shall as cruelle make fire be your end, and losse my liff with you. In his death, wee see the iuste iudgement and wengeance of God showinge vpon him, for as he without mercie bringeth others miserablie to end in the cruell flammes of fire, so do others serwe him with the like beastlie crueltie.

This gulle, whome all the leade that the most of the churches of Scotland was covered with, -could not satissie to fill his gredie cowetoufnes, hath nowe his bellie full of a little bullet of leade. The leads of the metropolitan church of St Andrewes, where he was priour, and manie mo churches there, wer sent by him into Flanders and other places, by him, and his uncle the Count Marre, his starte vp, oncovered the Abbie church of Cambuikenneth and others, (as also all of ther faction did the like,) and that to mantaine ther treasonable attemptes by the monie they made theroff againsth ther laufull Queene. By this meanes, and this vn-

godlie sacrilegious church robberie, manie Scottishe merchauntes wer brought to extreme miserie and powertie, yea, manie loste ther liwes by shipe wrike on the sea, when as they wer travellinge towards diuers cuntries with ther wessellis, wherin they caried it and the rest of the merchandize.

But Elizabeth hearing of the sudden death of her hired agent, all amazed for the losse of so necessarie and trufte a Machiwell wher throwe her enterprize coulde not come to such effect shee expected, shee chaunges her minde in the sendinge her presoner home, thinkinge that by the dispatche of Murraie, his uncle Marre shoulde not be suffered by the loiale subiectes, to deliwer the younge kinge in her handes, shee bethinkes her selff howe shee maie ridde boith her and sonne out of the waie by poyson: and for this purpose there was one sent in Scotlaunde, first to dispatche the sonne, but by what meanes I knowe not, he chaunced to come to the castle of Dumbartan wher some that did holde that stronge fortresse for ther lauffull Queene, and so he could newer come wher the younge kinge was keepte, and so this busines, to the greate confort all the loiale subiectes tooke therby; for in the end, when as the Earle of Lenox, the younge kinge his graundefather, tooke by force of armes the saide castle, amonegst otheris this detestable traitourouse willane was founde and apprehended, and vpon examination confesst he was sent out [of] Englannde to the effect foirsaid, and gaiwe him selff out to be a follower of the Duke of Norffolke, and so he was sent home in England he beinge an Englishman borne, but we newer harde of his execution, belike because the thinge he was sent for was approwed weeple by them who sent him, and to whome he was sent backe againe.

As for the Italian poffett (as they call it) was prepared for the mother, it was discovered by her officers and attendantis, that ferwed her in meate and drinke, and her tasters, which some of them bought full

deare, in that hardlie eschapeinge with ther liff; the strength of the poyson was so forcible, that they liwed ewer after languishinge till the daie of ther death, which made boith her selff, and all that was about her after, ewer daie and nighte, to hawe a speciall care to faiwe her from such fearefull inconveniences. In this meane while, Elizabeth and her counsellors, disapointed of ther bolde deweliche attemptes, raiginge in a furie quicklie rafeth an armie, and by the conducte of the Earle of Suffex, shee sendeth it vpon the frontiers to seeke out, (but this was but a cul-lour,) some Englishe rebelles that had ther refuge thither: the search was made in Scotland, newer sendinge woerde to Scotishe wardines, to ioine with them for this purpse, (as the custome in such caces vpon the frontiers is wont to be obserwed,) and in steade theroff, ten thousand men in hostile maner inwade in open warre, and range thorowe all the bordoures of Scotlande, (for no rebelles was soughte for come from Englande thither, for ther was none,) Hume Castle and the owner my Lord Hume, and the Lord Maxwell, Fearnieharste and Backleuch ar sought for with fire and sworde, ther fortrefles and holdes fired and robbed, and all men that dwelt in ther landes chased from there owen, ther goodes, munition and armour taken and caried in Englande. Shorte while after, not satissified with this cruell dealinge and manifest iniurie, Druerie is sent with an other armie to come with thoſe that stode for Murraie in the hearte of the kingedome, where cruellie they burned the ſtronge palice and caſtle of Hamilton boith in one houer, it beinge helde for Q. Marie, and vpon agreement and conditiones randered by the keepers in ther handes; and ſo paſſed they fordwarde as they began cruellie, and burned all whatſoewer did belonqe to anie of the name of Hammilton, houfinge and other, and robbed them ther goodes, not ſparinge to flaughter the brutiſh beaſte, lewinge them aliue in the flames of the feareſe fire, thinkinge it a goode reaſon they miſtige laufullie do all thoſe wronges to anie that was of the name of Hamilton, althought he

wer as innocent of aidinge anie of the contrarie factious as the childe  
yeet vnborne.

In the end they com to Lithquo, and the castle of Kinneile, which boith they burned, because they wer the Duke of Chettleroe his inheritance. O Heawen, whie hides thou not lighte! O Earth, whie shakes thou not and trembles in beholdinge and seeinge such merciles crueltie executed vpon innocentes, that newer deserwed thus to be dealte with! No other reason had they, nor yeet coulde pretend anie excuse to those designes, but that one of that name had killed Murraie, Queene Elizabeth her pentioner and hired serwant, to ruinate his natvie cuntrie, and his laufull Queene and mistres her loiale subjects; and that cheiffe and speciall gentlemen of that name repenteinge ther rashnes in af-sistinge Murraie at the first, when he begane to inwade the roiale scepter of his mistres, nowe at length they subiected themselwes to the obeyfance of ther Soweraigne, and caried armes in the defence of her right against the traitour Murraie, who from the beginning of these trubles, vndir a shadowe, made a cloake of religion towndo his mistres, to banishe her loiale subiectes, and vndo them, that all that stooode for her beinge able to do no thinge, he might intrude himself in the gouvernement of the whole kingdome.

Elizabethe thus hawinge weakned her presoners faithfulest serwantes, shee beginnes to make a shewe of a newe accordie with her, so that shee wold aknowleedge her for her Superiour, and putt in her handes the greater parte of all the stongest fortresses and castles of Scotlande, and deliwer in her handes her younge sonne the kinge, and all the cheiffe of the nobilitie that wer for her, for pledges and hostages that shee should not in anie forte sturre or make anie commotion, or take greiwouslie for entertainment in Englannde, or anie thinge past befoire that time, nor yeet hawe anie recourse to forren Princes to seeke wengeance for the iniuries shee had endured, and abowe all, that shee should renunce the auncient league with Fraunce, and in place

theroff make a newe league with Englaunde. But the Queene seeinge such straunge and extravagant demaundes, and by often experiance knownen weele whether such extravagant positiounes tended, chose to abide rather the present captiuitie then to yeilde her selff to her disloiale rebelles at Elizabethes commaunde to be used at her pleasour ; and her sonne and nobilitie in her hands to do with boith, what shee and her councelloures should best like on : besides that shee vnderstoode the stronge holdes and castles of Scotlande, being at her commaunde, it wer a redie waie to make a fulle conqueste of the whole kingdome, which shee and her foifathers befor her wer newer able to attaine vnto, albeit with much bloode shed they had attempted it, they wer so curagioulie refisted by her auncestouris, and ther faithfull subiectes, in tyme past all memorie of man.

But Elizabeth, perceiwinge that shee should hawe to do with a ladie that did weeke see into all her subtile practises vndertaken by the counsell of her deuile incarnate Leicester, and that shee had to do with one better adwised then her selff, betakes to another course, and negotiates with the Christian Kinge Charles 9, for which Admirall Memorancie was sent into Englaunde. Amongst the heades of this league then made, it was speciallie agreed and concluded, that Elizabeth should not giwe anie aide or favoure to the Scotishe rebelles against ther Soweraigne ; but shee newer keepte a woerde of her promese, albeit shee wer sworne to it, for immediatlie after shee sent an armie to the rebelles to besiege the Castle of Edinburghhe, which then held for Queene Marie her cufling, vnder the commandement of Squier William Kirkcaldie of Grange. After longe besieginge two whole yeares, he did yeelde it by comofition to the English, beinge driwen therto be infection of the springe that yeelded water to the fountane in the saide Castle, which at the fute of the hill and rocke was poisoned by the English, wherby all his foioures wer poisoned. [He]was in the end, contrarie to the lawe of armes, hanged

by Morton, then tyraunt of Scotland vnder the commandement of Elizabeth, whome Morton suffered boith by sea and land. [Of] all the Scottishe shippes, that had not a pasporte from Morton, wheroff he made a greate gaine, in lesse space then 2 yeares, ther was, by iuste accompt, 224 ships frauchte with merchandize pelled and robbed by the Englishe ; which the poore merchandes complained on, and findinge no redreffe, concluded to make out a fleete to repaire ther loffe : but all in waine, for Morton boith certifeed Elizabeth of ther determinatioun, and likewise emprefoned some of them, others he fined in greate soummes of money, so that none durfte sturre. In the end, the whole communitie of all the corporatioune tounes and cities of Scotland, concluded in a meetinge for this purpose to send one Mr Adam Fullerton, with some other of the wifest of the companie of merchantis, to require and demaunde redreffe of these harmes at Elizabethes handes. A greater mischeiff did newer anie of the brawest and stoutest of all her auncestoures woork to the Scottishe in so shorte a time by open warre, then shee did nowe in time of peace.

But shee, feedinge them with faire woordes, holdinge ther beakes in the water for the space of 2 whole yeares, makinge them spend a greate deale of monie in the iuste perfuite of ther cause, sendeth them from Caiphas to Pilate, giweth them leawe to departe, without anie other aunswere from her and her councell, then they could not do with all. The Queene and her councell wer not bounde to aunswere that which pirates did at the sea : they might aunswere them selwes if they wold ; which, if they gone fordward in when they first intended it, they wer certainlie informed, that shee thought to hawe sent foorth her admirall and a full armie to hawe made goode her pirates deedes ; for sume of them that wrought all this mischeiffe to the merchantes of Scotland, wer her owen captaines and shippes, who had dailie paie of her. This aunswere was giwen at Greinewich, where a riche English merchant, piteinge the distressed estate of certane Scottish merchant,

whome he had seene often beyonde sea in filke and satine and welwet, richlie apparellled, and rode in a footeclote of welwet, then poorelie clothed in cannues, caste him selff doun before the Queene and her councell, and receiwinge no goode aunswere to his contentment, he calles him and tolde him, that it was those of the councell that lightlie respeckted them, who wer the werie theiwes and pirates them felwes, feinge they did authorize the doers, and they and the Queene her selff had a paire in the bootie, as they had in all that was taken of the French shippes that wer robbed of Normandie and Flaunders, her owen confederates. So we maie see what it profeteth to be in league with her, who newer regardeth it more then it standeth with her advantage: it [is] weelee knownen, also, that some of her councell and nobles had ther shippes at sea to robbe and pille, asweele as fhee.

But to come to our purpose, concerninge the intelligence which paste betuine those of Elizabethes councell, together with the theiwes and rebellis, I can not passe ower in silence the roberie of Monsure Dolu, Thesaurar Generall to the Q. of Scottes: he bringinge her some of her dourie moneye from Fraunce, with some ringes sett richlie with precious stones, together with some jewelles of greate waleue, and a faire chaine of golde in value 2000 French crounes, and a lookinge glasse of the like walewe, Walsingham, Secretarie of Estate, after he had giwen Monsure Dolu his pasporte, thinkinge that he had the faide Queenes whole yeeres rent of her dourie in charge about him, made him be attended by secrete spies by the waie, amongest whome was two yeomen of the Queene his mistres guarde, notoriouslie knownen, who at the first meetinge wounded the said thesaurar and diwerse of his companie, and tooke from them all they had about them: wheroff no redresse could be had, althought the robbers wer taken, (and those wer the two yeomen of the guarde in speciall,) by a iustice dwellinge neare where the robberie was done; but he had litle thanke for his lauboure.

The theiwes wer committed to the Toure for a while, till the peoples talke theroff staied ; but no restitution was made to this houer.

Queene Elizabeth and her councell hawinge suborned and seduced treacherouslie the Counte Arran to forfake Fraunce, to laie and begunne the general complot of the rewolt of the Scottishe nobilitie, anno 1559, feedinge him with a waine hope of her mariage to owerthrowe him in the end used the proude ambitious spirite of the bastarde brother of the Queene with faire promeses of rewarde and gowernement, to arme him agaist her Maiestie, to be defence and refuge for all her rebelles ; helpinge them with monie and councell, instructinge them howe to dissemble till ther peace wer obteined for them, to the end they might the more easelie effect that which they traicterouslie intended to execut, that is, first to murder the Secretarie Dauid, and then the Kinge there maister, which they faide they newer knewe of his cruell murder till it was done, but contrarie wise made shewe they wer greatlie offended with it, and wold punishe the murder with all feweritie and rigour, albeit they knewe weeble who they were, and them selwes wer the cheiffe actouris and the authouris, ministers, conforters, and fordwarde setters theroff, wer at Berwicke, who haistned the execution theroff by direction from the councell at London, that gaiwe the watchwoorde, and showe them the meanes and oportunitie, and putt fire to the strawe, (as the powerbe is,) to drawe into ther handes, ambassages and faire promeses, the honest weeble meaninge Queene of Scotland, wer sent and made faithfullie promesed to be obserwed. In the end her ennemis, sett a worke by Elizabeths vpsturringe, furnishinge them with monie, bringes her cusinge to manie inconveniences, and by force driwen by her disloiale subiectes to forfake her kingdome and native cuntrie, her true faithfull subiectes beinge owerthrownen and brought vnder, and shee her selff fleeinge ther furie, (thinkinge Elizabeth wold keepe promise, sworne by her often meslasses, and writhen by her owen hand to her,) fleeth

for succour to her, which, at the first arriwale, shee promesed constantlie to performe, sayinge, shee in her owen person wold with a stonge armie accompanie her as farre as the frontiers, effect, and put her in former estate in her kingdome, so that all her ennemis should newer be able to truble her.

But in place of succour and aide, shee findeth harde empresonment, vngentle dealinge in place of hospitalie, the lawe of natiounes broken ; her serwitoures, that should hawe beene, by reasoun of the greatnes of her person, ewer about her, for her honour and assurance, put from her, and shee left desolate in respect of the small companie about her : shee is forbidden that none should speake with her, or wrete to her ; that shee should neither send nor receiue anie newes, no not to her owen sonne, nor heare from him ; that shee should hawe no comforde or releiffe sent vnto her in filwer, golde, jewelles ; shee should receiue no houshoulde stiffe, or whatsoewer elles. They ar accounted traitoures, and put cruellie to death, if they can be knownen, who afforde her anie of these in courtesies ; yea, thosse who speake a goode woerde of her, pitie her esstat, or looke pitiefullie vpon her, commend Godes goode graces in her, as her witte and wisdome, her beautie, her wertue, or do defend her honour, or commend her bountie to the poore, or saie shee seemeth to be innocent of the hainous offences wherwith shee is charged, straight he is accounted a false tratoure, and punished sharplie by fine in goodes, if he escape with his liffe. Should not the Bishope of Roffe, her ambassadour, hawe beene poisoned by meanes of thosse who then wer in hie place in the courte of England ? Was he not committed to the Toure of London as a traitour against the lawe of natiounes ? Was not Charles Balie most iniuftlie threatned to be raked, because he wold [not] confess and witnes against the honour of [his] Soweraigne ladie and mistres, thinges shee newer thought vpon ? Was he not in the end putt to the rake, because he, beinge her secretarie, wold hawe published a

litle booke, wretine by him in the defence of his mistres honoure, in the sclauder [which] was sprede abroade of her by her ennemis, that shee had lauboured that armes diuers times shold hawe beene lewied, and sent in England to hawe owerthrownen the face of the publick state of England, and to hawe beaten doun the Queenes castles and fortresses, and ransaked her tounes and cities, and that shee shold hawe afflited her rebelles and ennemis practisinge against her, encouraginge them, by yearlie pensions and annuitis in money, to attempt against the Queene and some specialles of the nobilitie; and likewise to hawe carefullie gone about the like in Scotland.

Should this noble Queene and her faithfull serwantes, showinge ther loialtie in defendinge ther mistres innocencie in these thinges wherof shee [was] most iniustlie accused, be thus dealt with? God, beholde from abowe the wrongfull dealinge and doinges of wretched miserable men heire belowe! On the contrarie, it is weeble knownen, howe Elizabeth her selff hath in deede, by the adwise of her counceliores, done all this and more in Scotland, Fraunce, and the Lawe cuntries, althought shee wer sworne in league with them all. To passe by the iniuries shee dailie did offer her wronged presoner, manie in number, it is weeble knownen howe shee braiwed the Kinge of Fraunce, in facings, outraginge his ambassadoures and officeres, and cauffinge them be robbed by the waie, that by this meanes, (because they laubored her to deale more courteslie with her owen kinnifwoman), shee might werie them for the Kinge to deale anie longer to procure anie favour at her handes for his fister and allie. But Robert Dudlie, her deare cusinge, could finde greater favour at her handes in an honeste busines at noone, in the nighte, whose death shee so bewailed, that hearinge of it shee shutte her selff all alone faste in a chamber, till Effex, (the leedes beinge vp from the rooffe,) came doun from abowe to confort her, whome ewer after shee liked the better: and Christopher Chattam pleased her so weeble, that

when he fikned, shee neither spared coste nor trawell to poste to wifite him, and ministred phyfike vnto him. The nearest kinnifwoman shee had in the world, could newer, in all her afflictions, obteine of her anie of those favouris; but in place theroff, all the euill shee could procure her and her younge sonne, whome shee cauffed, by his difloial subiectes, made her time serwers by briberie, be detained presoner till he satisseed her and ther mindes, whose violent handes he had hardlie escaped, except God in his prouident mercie had preferwed him.

After shee harde of the captivitie of her sonne, when shee beganne to languishe of a sore sicknes, of the which the Englishe physitions reported to ther mistres wold shortine her daies, which shee desired and longed for nowe longe ago. The desolate mother, fearinge the present estate of her deare childe, whom shee could not helpe, confort, nor succour, hawinge no other meanes, turneth her selff to God by praier, recommending her selff and him to his divine protection, beseechinge him in his mercie to mollifie her cusinges heart towardes her and her poore childe; and lafte, putteth her hand to the pen and wreteth to her cusinge, compleineth of her crueltie in the iniuste detention of her and her childe in captiuitie, and harde entreatie and usage of them boith, who newer deserwed anie such rigour at her handes.

LADIE, Touchinge the thinges that ar come to my fure knowledge of the last conspiracies done in Scotlande againte my owen childe, hawinge all occasion to fear the consequence, by the experience I hawe in my owen person, I hawe thought it convenient for me to applie the litle time of liife I hawe lefste me before my death, fullie to discharge my conscience of my most iuste and lamentable complaintes, of which I desire this letter maie ferwe you for a perpetuall testimonie, so longe as you shall liwe, and for a grudge to your conscience, asweele for my discharge to all posterities, as for the shame and confusion of all those who, in your fighte, hawe so cruellie and unworthelie hitherto handled

Q. Marie to Q.  
Elizabeth.

me, and broughte me to that extremitie which you weeble see and understande: But insomuch that ther designes, practises, and proceedinges, (howe odious and detestable foewer they be,) hawe in regairde of you prewailed, and had the vpper hand, against the most iuste disclames I hawe made, and my vpright behawioure, (as God knoweth boith mine and youres.) The force and power which you ewer hawe in your owen handes giweth you a dewe respect against me: I will take my refuge to the liwinge God, our onlie judge, which hath equallie and immediatlie placed us vnder him in gowernement of his people: I will intreat him onlie, in the extremitie of this most present affliction, to rewarde boith you and me, (as he will do righteouſlie in the daie of his last iudgment), ewen accordinge to our demerites or misbehawioures, and mercies, one towardeſ the other. Remember your ſelff, goode Madame, howe we can diſguife no thing before him by our paintines and policies. Albeit my ennemis maie, vnder you, culour it for a time before men, yea, peradventure, also maie hide ther ſubtile practiſes before you, in his name, as ſittinge iudge betuine you and me, I will diſcover to you, howe by your onlie agentes, ſpies, ſecrete meſſingers, ſent in your name into my kingdome of Scotland duringe the time I was ther, my ſubiectes wer corrupted and flurred vp by you, to attempt and rebell againſt me in my owen person, and in one woordē to do, vndertake, and execute that which, induringe my ſaide trubles, hapned in the ſaide cuntrie, wheroff I will ſpecifie no other verificatioun at this preſent, then that which I hawe drawen out of the confeſſion, and confroneted teſtimonies of one, which ſince was one of thoſe who is moft adwanced in regairde of ſuch his goode ferwice; to whome, if I then had done iuſtice, he had not ſince, by olde intelligences, rewiwed and renewed the ſame practiſes againſt my ſonne, and had not provided meaneſ for all my traiterous ſubiectes takinge ther refuge vnto you, of the aide and ſupport ewer ſince my restraint till the ſame werie daie, for default

Morton.  
Throgmorton.

wheroff, I thinke the same traitouris had prewailed nor stode out since so longe as they hawe done. Duringe my restrainte at Lochleuine, Throgmorton, nowe deceased, councelled me in your behalfe to figne the dimissiōn and surrendēr of my croune, assuringe me that it could be of no force; which thinge your owen selff did promise to make goode by your owen hand wrettinge to me; Denie it if you can: Moe, others then my selff hawe seene it, which thing no part of Christendome did ewer approue to be goode in lawe or conscience, except heire by your authoritie, where your councell do aide and mantaine my traiteorous subiectes against me, ther onlie laufull soweraigne ladie. In my conscience to desire you, goode madame, I desire you vprightlie, in your soule and conscience, to shewe me frielie and trulie, if you could weeble approue and like the libertie and power in your owen subiectes ower you, which you, against all conscience, righte and reason, mantaine in my subiectes and your owen to bringe me and my libertie and estate to your subiectiōn, which I truste in God shall newer be.

By your onlie councell and persuation, my authoritie was surrendēred, (by meanes of my traiteurous harterd subiectes, whome you suborned subillie for your advantage, and not mine,) to my deare sonne, (whome you lowed no better than me, if you coulde compasse him in your claues), he beinge then incapable theroff; he beinge in regarde of his yong yeares vnable to exercise it: and fince that time, when I wold hawe laufullie assured him theroff, it is, besides boith right and reason, taken from him by your councell and helpe, and giwen to two or thrie traitoures mantained by your plaine force and violence, who, in werie deede, by your subtile dealinge against your conscience and promise made to me, often seeke to deprive him theroff, as they and you hawe alredie done me, boith of the name and title, becaufe I did contradicte them and you in that which was my iuste proper righte, which I hope my said sonne after me will seeke to hawe as his owen

due righte when time shall serwe, and that the Lorde in his mercie will provide for his and my preservation boith heire belowe, and with him in the hie heavens when he shall call us to rest with him.

So soone as I deliwered my selff, by Godes diwine providence, and the helpe of thosse whome he mowed to pitie my harde bondage in presonment, into the which I was broughte by the meanes of your subtile dealinge, by your ambassadouris in sturringe vp my subiectes against me, I was able to bidde my ennemis batle, and to mantaine my righte that God in his mercie had preordinate me vnto, I sent in a token to you a jewel, a diamonde, which before time I had receiwed of you, in a token and assurance of your sincere lowe and affection, to be mantained and secured by you as my nearest kinnifwoman, against all my ennemis whatsoewer, and in speciall against my traiterous rebelles, if at anie time I should stande in neede of your supporte and aide, as I, for my parte, should do the like to you when occasion serwed, to the uttermost of my power: and I call God to witnes that you, for your parte, then promeised faithfullie, so farre to conforte and succour me then, (beinge in my owen kingdome able to hawe defended my selff against you, and all my ennemis whatsoewer, retiringe me to my stronge castles till my loiale subiectes, neare kinnifolkes, friendes and allies had ower throwen all my aduersaries,) if I wolde make my refuge to you, you wolde come so farre as the frontiers of the bordoures betuine our kingedomes to assist me, and this you made me beliewe, as diwerse gentlemen and messingers did assure me of the same. This promese proceeded from your owen mouth, and often reiterated, (albeit by your serwantes I had founde my selff often abused,) made me take such assurance and affiance in the effect theroff, that the troupes of my campe and gwarde which I reteined for my saiftie, beinge owerthroune by my ennemis, secretlie suborned besides my knowledge by you, I came directlie to caste my selff in your armes, if I could hawe approached you so neare. But

purposinge to come and finde you out, beholde I am in the midde waie arreifted, inwironed with a guarde, (besides your promese and my expectatioun), to watche me, and shutte vp in a stonge houle, and in the end, without all shame and regarde had of my Soweraignitie, broughte into this captiuitie, which is more bitter then a thoufande deathes vnto me, in regarde it is imposed vpon me by her who promesed such kinde dealinge on her parte. I knowe you will alledge against me, that which paste betuine me and the late Duke of Norfolke, nowe deade. I mantaine it vpon my conscience and honour, that there was no mater to your preuidice, nor against the commone goode of this realme ; and that this treatie was founde goode, and approued by the adwife and feales of the cheiffe and principall that wer for the time of your counsell, with assurance to perswade and make you finde it goode. Howe coulde such personages, without your adwife, enterprise to make you consent, which might hawe depriwed you of your liffe, honour and croune, as you make faire you ar certanlie perswaded theroff to all ambassadoures, and others that speake of me to you.

This notwithstandinge my rebelles perceiwinge that ther headestronge course caried them forder then they thought it wold hawe done, and that the truth appearinge of the forgerie, that they had ewerie waie spred abroade of me, by conference I submitted my selff vnto a full assamblee of your deputies and mine, to cleare my selff openlie in this cuntrie, but beholde the cheiffe of them retiringe him selff into the Castle of Edinburgh, to saiwe him selff from the rebelles, by your forces was besieged, and one of the principall poisoned of your procurement, and an other most cruellie hanged, after that I, the seconde time, had commaunded them to laie awaie there vapons and armes at your request in hope of peace, which God knoweth whether my ennemis ewer meant. I was willinge to make triale whether pacience coulde mend the rigour and euil entreate, begunne after they had thus fourtene yeares used me,

and accomodatinge my selff to the ordour which was prescribed me for my captiuicie in this house, asweele for the number and qualitie of serwantes, which I should reteine, giwinge leawe to others to departe. As for my diet, and ordinarie exercise for my health, I hawe leiwed ewen to this present so quietlie and peaceable as one inferiour to my selff, and as one more obliged then I am to you, for this intreatie of me could not hawe done so farre foorth as to take awaie all shaddowe of suspition and distruste. I depriwed my selff of all meanes to enquire to hawe anie intelligence of my sonne and of my cuntrie, that which by no righte nor reason could be denied me ; and cheiflie of my childe, who in fteade heiroff was lauboured by all meanes to be made against me, to the end that by our division we might be boith waikned.

It was graunted me, (saie you,) about thrie yeares ago, to send to vifite him in his captiuicie then at Sterlinge, vnder the tyrannie of Morton, was the caufe, as his libertie after hath beene the cause that the like vifitatioun was denied me. The yeare last past, I did diwers times enter into diverse owertures for the establisheinge of a goode amitie betuine us, and for certane intelligence betuine those two realmes heirafter. It is about ten yeares since Commissioners wer sent vnto me to Chattifforde to that effect. Then was a treatie made with your selff by the French and my owen Ambassadouris : yea, my selff made the last winter all the most advantagous owertours with Beale that was poſſible for me to do. What hawe I gotte therbye ? My good meaninge is scorned, the synceritie of my cariage lightlie respected and misconstrued, the estate of my afaires encombred with delaies, furnifhes and ſuch other cunninge ; and to conclude, worse dealinge uſed towardes me ewerie daie then other, notwithstandinge anie thinge that I force my selff and laubour to the contrarie. My ower longe, vnprofitable and my damnagable patience hawinge broughte me to that eftate, that my ennemis of a custome they hawe to deale euil with me, they thinke nowe they hawe the right of pre-

scription to uise me not as a presoner, such one as by reason I can not be, but a flaiwe, whose liffe and death dependeth onlie vpon ther tyrannie, without anie respect to the lawe of God or natiounes. I can not suffer it, Madame, anie longer: I can not endure it, and must either at my death discouer the authouris of my death and cruell murder, or liwinge yeet still make triale vnder your protection, to make these cruelties, these false accusatiounes and traicterous designes of my saide ennemis furcease, to establishe my selff in some more quiet, the remainder of my liffe. For, to awoide your selff of all pretended occasiounes, and all controveries betuix us, enquire and enforme your selff, if you please, of all that hath beene reported to you of my cariage, make the depositiounes of strangers taken in Ireland be againe reweued ower: yea, let those of the Jesuites last executed be to you represented; giue libertie to all that will publiclly vndertake to charge me, and permit me to come to my aunswere publiclly, and if the mater go wronge with me, and my cause be bade, let me suffer for it. I shall endure patientlie so longe as I shall knowe the cause; but if it go weeke on my side, do not mistake it and misunderstand the mater. I shall permitt my selff to be badlie recompened before God and men, and that with your greate scandale and heavie burden one daie to aunswere it before the righteous judge.

The most base offenders in your presons borne vnder your obeisance, be admitted to ther purgatiounes and iustificatiounes, and ther accusers be discovered vnto them, and confronted, and ther accusationunes be opened in ther presence. Whye shal not therfore the same order be keepte with me, a Soweraigne Queene, your nexte of kinred and lawefull heire? I thinke that this last qualitie hath beene hitherto the principall cause in regarde of my ennemis, and ther false accusations might make division betuine us two, they myghte wexe me the more; but allace, they hawe nowe litle reason, and les neede to torment me yeet farther for that effect, for I protest to you vpon my conscience and

honour, that I hawe not anie minde of anie kingdome, but of my God, the which I labour to gaine for the better ending of all my afflictiones and aduersties. The burden shall fall vpon you to discharge your conscience towardes my childe, touchinge that which shall of righte pertene vnto him after my death in that respect, and not to permitt, in the meantime, the continuall practises and desigues and secrete carriages which our ennemis in this your realme dailie make for the adwancement of ther furmised pretences, labouringe on the other fide with our traitorous subiectes in Scotland, by all the meanes they possiblie can, to haften his ruine ; wheroff I craiwe no other better testimonie then the charges giwen to your last deputies sent into Scotland, and that which the faide deputies hawe there seditiouslie practised without your priuitie, (as I beliue,) but with earnest and sufficient procurement of my goode neighbours in the countie of Yorke, to his prejudice to prewale. And to this purpose, Madame, by what right can it be mantained, that I the mother of my childe should be whollie interdicted, not onlie to reliue his necessitie so urgent as it is, but also to hawe anie notice of his estate ? who can be more carefull, regardfull, and finceire therin, then my selff ? whome doith it more nearelie touch and concerne ? At least, if sendinge vnto him to prowide for his saiftie and preferwation, as the Counte of Shreuiburie did, on your parte, let me understande it had pleased you to receiwe therin my adwice, you had interposed your self boith with better occasion, and greater obligatioun on my behalffe, as I suppose. Consider weelee with your selff, what you hawe lefte for me to imagine, when so suddenlie forgetting the offences, which you pretended to be committed against my sonne at that time, when I requested you we might boith together send towardes him, you dispatched meffengers to him where he was presisoner, not onlie without giwinge me notice theroff, but restraininge me at the same time of all libertie, to the intent that by no meanes I might heare anie newes of him. If the content of

them, who managed in your regarde so redelie this visitation, was for his preferwatioun and setling of his peace, they should not hawe beene so carefull to hawe keepte it from me, as a thing wherin I wold not hawe concurred with them, and to hawe made you loose the thankes which I should hawe beene indebted to you therfore. And to speake plainelie therin to you, I pracie you use no more such meanes nor perfons, for albeit I holde my L. Carie ower much regardfull of the place, he cometh of for to engage his honour in anie willanous action, he hath yeet an assitant sworne of the house and faction of Huntingtoun, by whose euil offices such an euil action could not but issue to the like effect. It shall then onlie suffice me, that you suffer not my sonne by this peace to receiwe anie damage, which is all that I ewer heirtofore requested at your handes ; yea, ewen then when an armie was sent vpon the frontiers to hinder the proceidinge of iustice of that detestable traitour Morton, and that none of youres heirafter medle with the afaires of Scotlande, if it be not with my knowledge, to whome all the knowledge theroff of righte doeth belonge, or with the assistance of some one of the parte of the Chrifian king of Fraunce, my goode brother, to whome, as our principall kinnisman, I desire to imparte all thinges in this cause, for the litle credite he maie hawe with the traitours which deteine my sonne for the present. This, notwithstandinge, I do openlie declare vnto you, that I holde this last conspiracie and innovation, for a mere treason against the liffe of my sonne, the goode of his afaires, and the goode of peace ; and that so longe he is in the state he is in, (as it is giwen me to understande,) I will make no esteeme of woerde, writinge, or anie other acte that commeth from him, or paffleth vnder his name, as proceedinge from his frie and naturall disfositiooun, but onlie from the faide conspiratouris, which, by takinge of his liffe into ther hand, use him as a maske for them felwes and ther afaires.

But all this libertie of speech, Madame, maie in some parte dif-

please you; yeit it is the werie truth it selff: You will holde it, I affuse me, werie straunge that I proceede yeit to importune you with a request of greate importance, and yeit werie easie for you to graunte and effectuate, that is, that not hawinge had hitherto anie power in accomodatinge my selff pacientlie so longe time to the rigorous entreatie of this longsome captiuitie, and bearing my selff synclearlie in all thinges, yea, ewen to the leaste that concerned you litle, to gett me therbye some assuranece of your fawour, and to shewe you therfore some parte of my entire affection, I pracie and desire you, for the honour and dolorous passion of our Sauiour Jesu Christ, to permitt me to retire some where without this realme to some place of repose, to seeke some release and conforte for my poor languishinge bodie so waxed with continuall sorrowe, and with libertie of conscience to prepare my soule to God.

Beliwe me, Madame, the phylitions, which you sent to me this last somer, mighte weelee enough enformed you, that I hawe beene broughte thorowe longe greiffe so lowe that I can not liue longe, so that ther can be no fundatioun or jelosie or mistruste on my parte, which, notwithstandinge, take on my parte and behalff such assurances, iuste and reasonable conditiounes, as you will. The greater force resteth still on your parte to make me keepe them, albeit I will not for anie thinge breake them. You hawe had sufficiente experiance of the observation of my simble promeses, and sometime to my owen preuidice, as I hawe shewed you often: For two yeares ago, remember your selff in the same werie subiect, I wrete then vnto you howe, by no meanes so much as by sweetnes and gentlenes, you coulde binde my hearte vnto you, albeit you imprestoned my poore feeble bodie within foure walles, these of my degris and nature beinge not to be forced, or gained by force, constrainte and rigoure. Let the greate God judge all. Your preson, against your promese so often made and renewed to me, hathe, without all right or iuste fundatioun, destroied my bodie, of which shortlie you shall hawe an

end, if it continewe there yeet anie longer, and my ennemis shall not hawe much more time to satiffie ther cruetie vpon me. There resteth nothinge but my soule, which is not in your power to captiuate. Giwe it, then, a litle more roome to take more frielie the breath of her saluation, which shee onlie seeketh after at this daie more then anie greatness of the world.

It seemeth vnto me it should be vnto you a greate and large satisfaction, honour and adwantage, that my deadlie and spitefull ennemis tredie my liffe vnder ther feete, ewen till they stifle me before you; in ffeade wheroff, if in this extremitie you nowe werie late lewe me betuine ther handes, yeet, goode Madame, abridge ther cruetie and giwe some release, boith to my soule and bodie, and so shall you greatlie oblige me vnto you, and all these which aperteine vnto me, but speciallie my poore childe; touchinge whome by that meanes you maie perhaps assyure your selff, I will not cease to importune you incessantlie in this request vntill you agrie vnto me, and therfore I desire you to make me knowe your intention, hawing attended for to please these two yeares by past vntill this present, to renewe the instance of my request, wherunto the miserable estat of my health doeth preesse me more then you can thinke or imagine. In the meane time, prowide, if it please you, that I maie be better entreated; for it lieth in my power, and remitt me not to anie others discretion whosoever more then your selff, of whome onlie, (as I last wrotte vnto you,) I will holde all the goode or the euil which I shall in your cuntrie receiwe, because if your promese. Do me this favour that I maie understande your owen intention, by wrettinge to the ambaffadour of Fraunce for me. For to settle my selff vpon that which the Counte of Shreuiburie or others shall saie or wrotte on your behalffe, I hawe experience enoughe that it can not be sufficient enoughe for me, the least subiect they shall dewise or imagine, to innovate all from the daie past till the morrowe followinge.

Besides this, the last time that I wrete to thoſe of your councell, you giwe me to understand that I ſhould not deale with them, but with you alone, and ſo farre foorth to extend ther credit and authoritie to do me euil and mischiefe, as it hapned, in this my last restraint, wer contrarie to your meaninge. I hawe beene werie unworthelie entreated, that giweth me occation to doubtē, that ſome of my ennemis in your ſaid councell hawe procured expreflie, that others of your councell wer not partakers of my iuſte complaint, ſeeinge not, perhaſpes, ther companions cliewe to ther wicked attemptes againſt my liſfe: either hawing knowledge theroff they wold, for your honour, hawe oppoſed them felwes againſt them.

Two thinges hawe I finallie and chieflie to request: the one, that as I am neare to depaire out of this world, I maie hawe neare vnto me ſome honourable man of the church, to the end he maie dailie put me in remembrance of the iorneie I hawe, and to instruct me howe to do accordinge to the truthe of Gods woordē, according to the direction wheroff, I am fullie refolwed to liue and die. This is the laſt duetie which to the moſt miſerable catiffe that breatheth can not be denied; and this a libertie which you giwe all ſtrange and forren ambaffadoures, as all other Catholike princes giwe to yours exercife of ther religion. And I my ſelff hawe newer forced my ſubiectes to anie thinge contrarie to the profession of ther religion, albeit I had all power and authoritie owerthem. I beinge in this extremitie of the libertie you giwe others of meaner qualitie and degrie, I praie you, can you iuftlie do it? did you ewer hawe anie care to caufe me be instructed otherwife? What adwantage will you gett by denyinge me? I hope God him ſelff will excufe me beinge opprefſed in this forte by you. If I offend in woorſhippeinge him outwardlie as I wold, when as I hawe no libertie to do it ſo, if in ſecretlie I do it in my heart, as he hath apointed me, you ſhall giwe a moſt badde example to other Christian princes, to uſe againſt ther owen

subiectes, the same rigour which you uise against me, a Soweraigne Queene, and the nearest kinniswoman you hawe in the earth, and shalbe while I liwe, in despite of all my ennemis whatsoewer they be.

I will not importune you nowe, for the adwancement of my house, for the shorte time I hawe nowe to liwe. I demaunde then onlie of you two chambermaides, to helpe me duringe my sicknes, protestinge vnto you before God that I hawe werie greate neede of them. Albeit I wer a poore creature of the meanest forte, and not a Soweraigne Queene and nearest kinniswoman, nature, humane curtesie might make procure you to afforde me this much wnto me. Graunte me this for the honoure of God, for whome you and I as his anointed gowerne for him heire belowe. And lat it [be] seene that my ennemis hawe not so much credit with you against me, as to exercise ther wengeance and crueltie in a mater of so litle consequence, and dependinge vpon a fimple office of humanitie.

I will come nowe to that wherewith the Counte of Shreuiburie hath charged me, if such a one as he maie charge me, that contrarie to my promese made to Beale, and with out your privetie, I hawe negotiated with my sonne, to yeelde to him the title of my croune of Scotland, hawinge bounde my selff not to proceede in it but by your adwise ; and that when I shoulde thinke goode to do this, I shoulde send one of my serwantes with one from you, to be ruled and directed in this busines by one of youre serwantes. These be, (as I take it,) the Countes owen woordes. I hawe tolde you heire before, madame, that Beale had newer anie absolute promese of me ouertures, touchinge which I coulde not in anie forte be bounde, without the foiregoinge performance of the conditions which I had opposed ; to the which he was so farre from beinge satistified, that I had, on the contrarie parte, not so much as anie aunswere, nor of his paerte harde him mention anie thinge theranent. And in this regarde, I weele remember, that the Counte of Shreuiburie, desirous to

drawe from me newe confirmation of that which I had saide to Beale, I replied to him werie plainelie, that it was in cace the faide conditions had beene accorded on and performed vnto me. Boith the one and the other be yeet liwinge to testifie it vnto you, if thè will speake the truth.

Since that time, perceiwinge no aunswere giwen me theroff, but on the contrarie by the delaies and furmises of my ennemis, continewed more licentiouslie then ewer, ther practises builded vpon the fojourninge of Beale so neare vnto me, to crosse my iuste intentiouns in Scotland, as the effectes hawe weeble witneffed, that by this meanes the gate laie open to the ruine of my sonne, I tooke your silence as a refuse, and discharged my selff by expresse letters, asweele to you as to your councell, of all that which I had treated with the said Beale. I made you priwie vnto that which the Kinge and the Queene wrotte vnto me with ther owen handes, concerninge these afaires, and required theroff your adwice, which is yeet to come: with the which my intention, in werie truth, I was to proceede if you had giwen me your adwice in time, and if you had suffered me to send vnto my sonne affistinge me in the owturtes, which I had proposed to you to establishe betuine these two realmes, a lowinge amitie and perfite intelligence for the time to come. But to binde my selff nakedlie to followe your adwice before I knewe what it mighte be, and to submit for the woialge of our people, mine to the discretion of yours, and that in my owen cuntrie, I was newer so simple as to thinke it. Nowe I remitt to your consideratioun, if you wer priwie to it, the false place which my ennemis heire hawe plaied in Scotland, to bring maters to the passe they be at, whether of us hawe more uprightlie and fynceirlie proceeded, God be iudge betuine you and me and them. Beholde yeet againe the aduertisementes which my traiterous subiectes of Scotland might hawe giwen you, you shall finde it, and I will mantaine it before all Christian princes, that there is no passed on

my parte anie thinge to your preiudice, nor against the goode and quiet of this realme, which I affect no leſſe then anie councellour or ſubiect; knowinge that one daie it will either come to me or mine after me. It was ſpoken to gratifie my ſonne with the name and title of a kinge, and to affiſe him of the ſaide title, as alſo the rebelles of all impunitie of ther offences paſt, and to ſett all thinges in reſt and quiet heiraſter, without innovationoun of anie thinge. Was this to take the croune from my ſonne? My ennemis, and you in ſpeciall, (as I thinke,) wold not hawe him ſure theroff; and therfore be weele content that he holde it, by unlaufull meanes of ſome traitorous ennemis, of all antiquitie of all our race to roote it out, or elles to conweie the croune from me and him to them, who neither by the lawe of God nor man hawe anie righte, whether they ſtrangers be by birth, or home borne traitouris. Was this to ſeeke iuſtice for the paſt offences of the ſaide traitouris, whome newer anie clemencie could gaine or winne? But an euil conſcience can newer be in quiete, bearinge ewer about with her her owen tormenter. Was this to alter the quiet of the cuntrie, or to procure it by defacinge all thinges paſte, and eſtabliſhing a generall reconciliatioun amoungſt all ſubiectes?

Is it that which our ennemis heire feare ſo much, which they make shewe they defire? what preiudice was there in this done vnto you? Marke it then, and make it be iuftified, if you please, or can, in anie other thinge, I will aunſwere it publicklie vpon my honour: Allace, Madame, will you ſuffer your ſelf to be ſo much blinded by the cunninge of my ennemis, as to eſtabliſh after you, and perhaſes againſt your ſelf lewinge and ſeeing them there iniuft pretentions to this croune? Will you ſuffer it, beinge yeet aliwe, to ruinate and make ſo cruellie perishe thoſe who touch you ſo neare in harte and bloode? This can newer [be] honourable nor goode vnto you, that by ther meanes, I and my childe ſhould be ſo longe ſeparated, and wee boith from you, and our crounes

from us all. Take againe the olde arles, earnest of pledge of your lowe and kindnes, and bind yours to your selff, that feeinge all thinges is pardoned betwene us, as on my pairete I call the feare and searcher of all hearts to witnes, they be frielie forgiwen, giwe me this contented ioye, that I be no more trubled by my ennemis, or in my conscience, that my soule deliwered from this bodie be not forced to send foorth the fighes to God, for the iniuris you hawe [made] to be done to me here belowe, but on the contrarie, departinge in peace with you out of this captiuitie, I maie go out of this bondage chearfullie to my God, whome I pracie to mowe your hearte to giwe eare to my most iuste complaints and greiwances. Sheiffelde, 18. November 1582.

Your most desolate, neareft and affectionat cofinge and sister,

M. R.

Beholde goode declarations; beholde most apparent iustificationes; beholde offerres full of submision; beholde praiers and requestes that might mowe an hearte more harde then flinte, if not adamantine! But to what end and purpose! Elizabeth diffembleth as shee was wont, and maketh as if sheeknewe them not; and insteade of mitigatinge her cruell afflictiones, shee becommeth more austere and rigorous then before. Shee wold putt her to an dishonourable death, but shee can not bringe it to passe as shee wold: shee sent an Englishe cooke for her mouth to poison her, but it was discovered by her faithfull serwantes. It could not likewise be executed by Walsinghame his procurement, because his copartners, who with him commaunded it, saide it was no thinge to kill the Queene presoner, if the sonne wer lefte aliwe, or if ther wer not some apparent pretexe and specious shewe, to take awaie the title of the croune of Englande from the sonne asweele as from the mother. I should be too tedious, if I should recount the hundredth parte of the indignities that was done to this Ladie, duringe the time of her emprisonment. Did they

not cause, in spite of her, hange a papist st freight foirgaint her ludginge windoes, therby giwinge her to understand that the same death did abide her ; and they had indeede accomplished ther designes, if some of the wiser soirte had not by manie forcible strunge reasons withstoode the dishonourable purpose. Lastlie, it is concluded to butcher her, and to shaddowe the same with some culoure of iuste wengeance, and finde some crime to giwe a pretexte to ther tyrannicall proceedinges, and to perswade idiottes, if anie wer so groffe or sensles in the world, that they followed the course of iustice, all stomocke sett aparte, and all former malice laide awaie, and all affections contrarie to right and reaion being buried, they desired no thinge so much as the saiftie of Gods true woorthipe and religion and of ther Queene ; and for this intent a Parliament was called 23 of Novembre, and a ordinance made in it in 27 yeare of Elizabethes raigne, it fittinge vntil the 29 of March nexte after. In the first fittinge theroff, a question was dispatched with this title, " An Acte for provision to be made for the suretie of the Queenes Maiesties most roiale person, and the continuance of realmes peace."

To shewe the exquifit and affected meanes they hawe to culour ther designes to maffacre cruellie this innocent ladie, heirafter folioueth ther maske to effect the same, ther Acte of Parliament :—

" Becaus the conforde and greate felicitie of the whole state of this realme confisfeth, nexte after God, in the preseruation and saiftie of the most excellent maiestie of the Queene ; and it appearinge manifestlie vnto us, that manie complottes and carriages, not longe fince, hawe beene prepared and enterprised, asweele beyonde sea in ftrange and forren cuntries as within this realme, to the greate danger and preuidice of the most roiale person of her Heighnes, to extreame ruine of the comoune wealth, if in the mercie of God the thinge had not beene rewealed for this cause ; and to prewenty the greate perrile which by this meanes might otherwise encrease heireafter, by the meanes of such detestable and

dewilishe practises, at the humble suite and service, petition and request, of our Lordis spirituall and temporal, and the thrie estates of this present Parliament assembled, and by the authoritie of the saide Parliament, let ther be made an Acte inregistred, that if it happen after this present Sesson of Parliament ther be made anie open invasion or rebellion, or prepared within anie of the realmes or dominions of her Maiestie, or if anie thinge be attempted to the detriment of the most roiale perlon, by or in favour of anie person that wold or coulde pretend anie righte or title to the croune of this kingdome after the decease of her Maiestie; if ther be made anie proiecte or dewise to the priudice of her roiale person by anie pretendinge such righte, or with his consent or knouledge, or priwicie of the facte, that then by the commission of her Maiestie vnder her greate seale, the Lordis, and other of the priwie councell, and such other Lordis as hawe woice in Parliament, as it shall please her Maiestie to name, makinge together with them of the counsell the number of 24 at the leaft, affisted with some of the iudges of the courte of record at Westminster, such as it shall please her Maiestie to appoint and ordaine in that regairde; where the greater pairete of the saide councell, Lordis and iudges, shall hawe power and authoritie, be wertue of this ordinance, to examine all and singular such offences foirfaide, and all the circumstances theroff, and to giwe iudgement of them, and sentence vpon them, as they shall see by goode proues the cace required: and after such sentence and iudgement giwen, and declaratioun of it made and published, by letters of her Maiestie vnder the greate seale of England, all such persons, against whome such sentence and iudgement hath beene given in maner foirsaid, shalbe excluded, be disabled, and made incapable for ewer to hawe, demaunde, or pretend anie righte to the croune of this realme, or anie of the dominions of her Maiestie, notwithstandinge all precedent, lawes, or statutes to the contrarie; and in wertue of this ordinance and commission of her Maiestie

therupon, all the subiectes maie iustlie, by all meanes possible, be it by waie of facte or otherwise, persue to death such perverse and mischei-wous persons, by whome, or by whose meanes, consent or priuitie, anie such invasion, attempt, or rebellion, in the forme afoirfaide, shalbe deameed to be done, or hath attempted, procured, or imagined anie such acte against the saide person of her Maiestie, in like soiorte, all ther adwifers, fawourers, adherentes, or complices: And if anie like acte come to be executed against her most roiale person, by the which the liffe of her Maiestie shalbe taken awaie, (from the which God of his greate mercie preferwe her,) then all persons by or for whome such an acte shalbe executed, and ther heires, participant in anie maner, consentinge, or hawinge anie knowledge and intelligence of such a foule facte, shall, by wertue of this ordinance, be excluded, and be made vnable to enioye, pretend to, or demaund, the croune of this realme, or anie other of the dominions of her Heighnes, notwithstandinge all precedent, lawes and statutes whatsoewer to the contrarie."

See heire the werie groundes and fundatiounes of ther proceedinges against the Queene of Scottes. Shee is noted to be the wicked person, by this ordinance of the states of England, as if shee had been alredie guiltie of rebellion, and all, &c. It is against her liff dewised, and shee is noted to be the onlie instrument of all this mischeiffe, to defraude her and her offspring and posterite of the croune they had a iust righte vnto. Doctour Wilson wold reporte the newes, if he wer aliwe, to be confronted to Doctour Windem, whome they esteemed not without cause the best lawer in England: he wold mantaine it to ther faces, that after the death of the Duke of Norfolke, this Wilson, then ther Maister of Reuestes, was sent vnto him by thos of the councell to knowe of him, if there wer anie municipall lawe vpon which they might hawe anie grounde to putt to death the Queene of Scottes, and to make anie

formall proceffe against her ; who aunswere them that ther was none ; so that his aunswere was directlie opposite and contrarie to ther difloiale, perwerse and tyrannous dewilishe intentiouunes.

At this time, the L. of Cauaignes frenchman, since executed for heigh treason at Paris, was negotiatinge in England, I knowe not whie, if not for that amonkest other bufines he folloued the death of the Quene of Scottes, as an agent for the French that wer her ennemis. His cauffes and meanes wer the werie same, comprised in the slanderous and infamous libell made and published priwélie, from hand to hand, and dedicated to Q. Elizabeth, vnder the title and inscription of the Morninge Watche.

The Englishe, thus informed that the lawes and precepts of iustice did not yeelde ther protection and affent to them to effect ther cruell, and more then Scythian designes, without forder delaie, respectinge no forder formalitie of lawe, dispatches a poste with all possible speede to the Earle of Shreuiburie, Erle Marshall of England, cheiffe iustice in criminall cauffes, chargeinge and commaundinge him, all delaies sett aside, vpon the receipt of the letters, to cause the heade of the emprened Queene to be cutte off from her shoulders. This poste beinge dispatched with all diligence, Megara could not sleepe, but seekinge out ane other Megara in soule, which strangelie tormented, the cruell decrie is repented of. They knowe what ordour to take ; the Queene sendeth for Leicester, her greate minion, whose adwife must be had for a iuste lawe in all this greate bufines, whome Sir Walter Mildmaie, one of his most familiars, must needes adwife ; (for of him selff he was so addicted to Elizabeth, if shee wold go to hell, he must needes keepe her companie,) who declared to him the greate offence to God and man, the greate dishonour should be impute to ther mistres, the shame arisinge to the councell, the imminent danger of the Queenes person, the vndoinge of the whole realme, if the resolution of the death

of the Queene of Scottes wer executed, without all pretence of lawe, righte or reason, or anie apparent shewe of iustice: that such crueltie could not be excused by no shewe whatsoewer, and that all Christian kinges and potentates should be constraigned vpon ther honoures to take rewenge theroff; that the example should be of a most dangerous consequent, that the like case might befall ther mistres, if in the mutinie of her people shee should flie into Scotland or Fraunce, or anie other cuntrie for refuge, as this ladie fled into England, and that vnder culour of promes made to her, and assurances giwen on the part of the Queene, her nexte kinne, and hawinge laid her liffe as a thinge of trusfe in her handes, and all her whole estate.

Leicester, vpon the examinatioun of these speeches, perceiwinge his honour much more interested (in regarde of his familiaritie with his mistres,) then anie mans elles, he beinge speciall in her councell, rose vp quicklie out of his bed, goeth redelie to his mistres bed chamber, (whether often he was wont to go for les necessarie busines,) in his nighte goune, all alone, he telleth her all the foirfaide inconveniences by such a bloodie tragedie, if such a cruell commandement and decrie wer executed. He had no sooner opned his mouth to utter these thinges, but shee prayes him to giwe ordour to staie the ordinance alredie giwen. Therfore, instantlie ther was an other gentleman, Mr George, to call bake the first poste, dispatched in all haifte to giwe likewise a contrarie command to the Earle of Shreuiburie to staie the murder of the goode innocent Queene. There be some that reporte the whole mater otherwife, that the Ladie Stafforde, a ladie of honour of Elizabethes chamber, beinge in her bed, cried out in her dreame in a loude and fearfull noyes, that shee wakned her mistres the Queene, who demaunded her the cause of fearfull shoutinge and outcrie; and after shee had wakned her out of her dreame with much ado, at length shee aunswered, shee sawe the Queene of Scottes heade cutte of, then

her mistres heade also. The Queene then tolde here the like vision in her sleepe had trubled her selff, wherwith shee was much affrighted ; and that that was the cause shee had so suddenlie [altered] this determinatioun of puttinge her cusinge to death. But be it so, or howsoever it was, I see no inconuenience, whie both those mighte be the caufes of the sudden alteratioun of the cruell decrie. The last poste made such haifte that he arriwed almost at the same time with the firt that went before him with the foirfaide decrie for execution to the Earle, as saide is. But the last caried better newes, straitlie commandinge him to keepe his presoner, and tellinge him by wrate from the Queene, that althought her cusinge had deserwinge for attemptinge to marie with the Duke of Norffolke without her knowledge, to the greate hinderance of the Gospell, and furtherance of poperie, (which I my selff do more tolerate, shee mighte as trulie hawe saide, in that I suffer recusancie in my dominions for a litle monie to be brought to my coffers) : these thinges, I saie, confidered arighte, I might iustlie ride her out the waie ; yeit I pardon her with all my heart, and giwe her liffe, not dealinge with her as shee deserwes, but accordinge to my clemencie.

To whose cruell and iniuste accusatiounes the Queene, (after shee had red Elizabethes letter to Shreuiburie, aunswere, and his declara-  
tion of the contentes of it,) fullie reported in Elizabethes proiectes shee intended, therby fullie vnderstoode of her Maieftie, shee replied, shee newer attempted anie thinge againt the honour of a Queene, nor her cusinge in speciall, (as knoweth God,) shee newer had anie intelligence with strangers or ennemis to conspire with them againt her and her kingdome, and that God one daie wold be a iuste judge betuine them, and shewe whether shee wer guiltie of these thinges shee falslie charged her, which wer in deede alledged, forged and dewised accusatiounes to bereiwe her of her liffe, wherthrowe shee might the better execut her longe concealed proiect, which was to hinder her and her sonne the

right of the kingdome, which shée had, against all right and reason, usurped, and of the which her owen father disabled her by the ad-wise of the whole parliament. Marke heire an Acte of Parliament made by her and her councell, by the which they that designe or imagine in ther mindes anie thinge in the person or estate of the Queene of England, and they that giwe aide, confort, or fawoure to thosē in fawoure of whome, as pretending right to the croune, such thinges is attempted, designed or imagined, ar declared criminalles, vnable and vnwoorthie of such rightes ; and it is permitted to all the subiectis of England, to kill and pursue them to death, awseele by waie of fact as by iustice. A few monethes after, they founde in ther heades and imaginatiounes, full of treason and crueltie, that it is the Queene of Scottes that had not onlie imagined and proiectē, but also attempted against ther mistres ; and therupon, without anie forme of iustice, without gatheringe or confronting anie testimonies, (as is required in proesse against the basest offendouris in the world), they cast her doune from her roiale estate, and make her be assasinated by the hand of cruel butcher. But to saie the truth, they know weele in ther mindes, re-plenished with abomination and all iniquitie, that the onlie cause of her murder was, because shée wold newer giwe ower the iuste title God gawe her, and thosē that were to come of her ; wherin they followed the morninge watches resolution, wherin the authour of that booke holdeth it a iuste cause, and most necessarie to put the Queene of Scottes to death, because shée was popishe, and gaiwe annuitiis and pensions to papistes. Whie did he not thinke it as necessarie to put Elizabeth alſo to death, who manie a time ſince shée usurped the roiale authoritie, hard the idolatrous masse, and newer, to her dyinge daie, did removē the ceremonies of the masse, (which the morninge watche doeth condemne as dewilishe), out of the church of England, yea, ſuffered openlie in publick place manie most abominable papisticall opinions to be taught, held

and mantained, together with heresies also arifinge from thence to be broched abroade ; it is needfull heire to sett them doun, they be freshe as yeet in mennes mindes. The other cauffes why Elizabeth putt her cufinge to death, alledged by her ennemis, specified in ther false judgement giwen against her Maiefie, haue onlie a culloure to shadow ther tyrannie to make other princes not to disdaine them and their cruetie, nor to handle them and ther mistres as they had done this noble Queene. When they made ther Act of Parliament, they knewe weeble she muste needes conspire with Antonie Babington, against the state and liffe of Elizabeth ; they had so goode agéntes boith at home and abroade, that this conspiracie could fall out no otherwise, but with ther goode likinge must needes endanger the Queene of Scottes liffe, and her iuste title shée had to the croune of England, which thinge you maie see by the dewilish complot it selff. Ther was one Gifforde an Englishman borne, who from his werie infancie had beene trained up in the seminaries at Roome and Rhemes, and for the space of two yeares was he delte with by Walfinghame his agentes, who was Elizabethes secretarie, a spitefull ennemie to her cufinge. This goodlie companion Gifforde, leawing his profession, maketh diwers iorneyes and woiajes to Paris, and goeth ower in England, he not being at all in anie thinge molested, notwithstanding the strict search and inquirie was made vpon all that came thither from beyond sea, yea and albeit he showe him self outwardlie a professed papist. This libertie this fellowe had, made boith papistes and protestantes thinke diuerſlie of him. But to take all suspition of treacherous dealinge with the councell of England out of his brethrens harte, he past foorth batcheler of divinitie, and tooke holie orders vpon him, and was made preift at Rhemes. Since which time, men began to be werie suspicious of him, seeinge him often to retire him selff into England at his plesour, without anie moleftatioun or truble. Papistes doubted the more of him, because his onlie meanes to liwe on was by allowance he had

in his ordour. Nowe he did liwe in greate plentie of all thinges, hawinge of the Seminaries, wherupon heирtofore the greate pairete of all his meanes depended no thinge. But such was the wickednes of the licentious liwer, he could not cower his wicked liffe, nor hidde anie longer in plotting his treacheries; for at length, they spying his cariage and scandalous liffe, committed him to preson in the officialtie of Paris, where was found about him manie letters written with the ioice of an onion, and allonie with cyfers and diwerse other papers, diwers memorandumes and instructiouns, by the which one parte of his negotiatioun was discouered, and amongst other thinges, howe he did certifie one Thomas Phillipes, Walsinghames agent, of all whatsoewer the catholiques did.

To the effect this their designe, and to do them an office woorthie of memorie, mighte the better be brought to passe, he drewe him selff to the companie of one Thomas Morgan, a gentleman much addicted to the Queene of Scottes, to whome he insinuated his ardent zeale to do the faide Ladie service, and that he knewe a greate manie Catholiques in England to be dewoted to her Maiestie, and that he had goode meanes to procure her deliwerie, and that ther was that negotiated in those partes for her, and that he had him selff for his owen parte, if he coulde be furnished with monie, wold deale in this busines, and direct Maister Morgan to hawe secrete intelligence with those that had the doinge of this busines in hand. He offered him selff two or thrie times to the Bishope of Glascoue, her Maiesties Ambassadour, who returned him bake, not giwinge him anie countenance, or communicatinge anie thinge with him in a mater of weight or consequence, from whome he retired him selff backe againe to Morgan, and by importune sute made to him, he obteines letter, boith from him and others, to Antonie Babington, and some other gentlemen of his owen profession, whome Leicester had borne no will to a longe time, and coulde hawe founde in his heart to hawe had longe

ago ride out of the waie for his owen particulars. So foone as he came in Englande, st freighte goeth he with the letters to Walshingham, and after ar deliwered accordinge to ther supercription. They laubour the mater so secretlie and craftele, that they gett letters from the Queene that was presoner, or from her secretarie, which wer taken and then copied out by Sir Amias Paulet, her graces gaoler, who sendeth them st freight waie to Babington, and receiweth his aunswere. These thinges thus handled ar communicated to Walshingham, and by him be againe reported to the councell.

The watch woerde is giwen to Gifforde that he should shifte for him selff, and to go into Fraunce to mantaine ther woonted and accustomed serwice, without anie feare of anie sentence of prescription or banishemēt to passe against him, or if it did hapen to be giwen, it was but for a cullour, it should not turne to his preiudice, it should ferwe for a maske to hid his desigues, and the better to plaie his parte without all suspition of mistruste heirafter.

This kinde of proceedinge is not to be thought strange in Walshingham; theese be his ordinarie practises: He was so impudent to send a companion to Rome with false letters and seales, to take vpon him the person of the bastarde brother to the kinge of Scottes, to discower the intelligences the mother might hawe with the Pope, or that which might further her deliwerie; but he was but a counterfeit, for the faide kinge had newer anie base brother, as it is weelee knowen. So this cufoninge mate was committed to preson in the castle of St Angelo, and after put into the inquisition, from whence he escaped, by what meanes I knowe not; but after beinge founde at Paris, and committed to preson in the litle castle, he died poorlie and miserablie ther, deliweringe him selff from the due punishment his treacherous attemptes did deserwe, notwithstandinge the faire promeses of Elizabeth, and the often vifitatiounes of her ambassadoures. There was manie such like agentes

for Elizabeth at Roome and Spaine discouered, and receivied ther due punishment.

But to returne to Gifforde. After he had dispatched his negotiation with Walshinghames goode likinge, the letters of Morgan, Babington and others, wer wieud and confidered by the councell, and Sir Amias Paulet was directed thus, that he shoulde leade his presoner foorth to disporte her selff at the huntinge. But shee was no sooner come into the feildes, then ther arriwed ther vpon a sudden Mr George and Mr Wade, with a greate troupe of horsemen, who seased vpon the bodies of her two secretaries, Melvin the maister of her houshalde, her purfbearer, and other ferwantes, sequestringe them one from an other, not sufferinge them to speake betuine them selwes, nor with ther mistres, threateninge them if they did, they wold freight without delaie stabbe them: they dispatch and dewide ther presoners to diuers places and keepers. As for her Maiestie, Paulet, by direction from the courte, as was foreseen, cauffed her to be led by a stonge garrison to a gentlemans house near bye, where shee was kept without anie retinewe the space of eight daies, duringe the which time he cauffed her closett to be broken open: he tooke awaie all the keyes of her coffers and trunkes, and of all ferwantes trunckes: he tooke all her coine in golde, silwer, her jewelles, ringes, and precious attire: her booke, memorandumes, instructiounes, ciphers, and all her papers. After these indignities offered her, he cauffed her to be broughte by a stonge garrison of armed men to Chartlie; and from thence, leadinge her from house to house with manie reproches, without anie respect to the hienes of her person and honour, shee is brought to Foderinghaie, the intended butcherhous where they had apointed to assasinate her roiale person: a slaughterhouse it is to be named, rather then a palace fitte for the habitatioun of such a Queene as shee was.

This rude, cruell willaine Paulet was apointed a Cerberus to keep

her, in regarde they could hardlie finde such an other woide of all humanitie and mercie, except it wer traitour Walshingham. He was also commanded to empoysen her, if he could effect it secretlie, and if he perceiued anie noise or sturre in her house, or about her ludgine, he was charged vpon his allegiance to kille her, not lookinge for anie farther authoritie ; for ther Act of Parliament was a sufficient warrant to him in that behalffe. And to this intent did this miserable goutie catiwe, (seeinge the fire to hawe taken holde of the chimneie of her chamber, thinkinge it beene done of purpose and deliberatlie, as an token giwen,) apointed foure of his gwarde to hawe killed her in her owen chamber, if shee had made the least signe to shunne the danger of the fire, which giweth a stronge suspcion that the fire was kindled by themselwes.

They keepte her werie freightlie at Foderingaie, where shee wanted all thinges needfull for the entertainment of her roiale person ; and thither wer directed, according to ther Act of Parliament, Commissioners, sent not to make her laufull processe, which they could not, nor ought not, but onlie to terrifie her, which they newer wer able to do, such was her confidence in her God, and her owen innocencie, and to giwe her a light audience in those thinges shee did speake, and speciallie to culoure ther designes in purposinge to putt her to death. But the Commissioners, ioninge to the contentes of the letters of ther commision, did impudentlie awouch, that shee had corrupted the subiectes of ther mistres to deliwer her selff from captiuitie, and to hawe dispossessed ther mistres of the croune and kingdome of England, and that shee had practised against her state and her liffe. The comfortles princes, doubtinge what ther intent might be, and that vpon necessitie it did seeme vnto her that ther designes, that had such longe preparatiouns, must come to some dangerous ewent and issye, shee did longe insist in her delayes and refusall to awoide ther proceedinges, but hawinge alledged to

them perfundorelie, and maner of acquite her qualties, and ther incom-  
petencie and insufficiencie, denieth and excludeth vtterlie the conspiracie  
by them alledged, and that her secretaries had written anie thinge to  
her knowledge or commaundement, that might turne to the preiudice of  
her cusinges liffe, or hinderance of her estate, or anie wife corrupted her  
subiectes in ther due obedience ; which shee solemnlie did sware and  
protest, continewinge therin ewen to her last breath. Weele, quod shee,  
if my secretaries hawe wretin or negotiated anie wife besides my know-  
ledge that waie, that ought not to be imputed vnto me for the ower per-  
ilous consequences for the liffe, the honour, the goodes, the reputatioun  
and faculties of all Christian princes and greate potentates, shold be  
exposed to the greate hazarde, if the simple wretinge of ther secretaires  
migt binde them in anie thinge : yeet for her selff, shee did not thinke  
they had wretin anie thinge, either to Babington, whome shee newer  
knewe nor did see with her eie, nor to anie other, for her libertie or deli-  
werie out of her iniuste and tyrannicall captiuicie, which all the lawes  
of the world permitt her to seeke to attaine vnto by all meanes possible.  
But if for the procuringe of her libertie they had wretin, follicited,  
and procured anie thinge preiudiciale to her person, or the estate of the  
Queene her cusinge, they had gone beyonde her commission, commaundement  
and direction, and therfore ther follie and temeritie shold not  
turne to her blame or hinderance anie waies, who had newer agreed  
nor consented, nor plotted or imagined anie such thinge, assuringe her  
selff that neither her secretaries nor anie other wold mantaine the  
contrarie, if they wer brought to her presence to face it. But all her  
speech is needles ; all her offeres serwe to no purpose, for the Lordes,  
the judges, the more parte of them wer her sworne ennemis, and wer  
ignorant, vnlearned, not skilefull in the iudiciale afaires of a commoune-  
wealth : none such wer admitted to come to her presence ; no such man  
was suffered to heare her laufull iustificatiouns. For a faffon to culour

ther wiked designes, when sentence is giwen against her, they ar send for and come, but ar not suffered to heare her lafull purgatiounes and aunswers to that which was laide against : they will none of that, that ther cruell sentence should be rewoked, althought in the selff iniuste : with a cloffe mouth they be returned backe againe whence they came : the sentence is pronounced without examination or confrontinge of anie witnes by them selwes, or the iudges of lawe best acquainted with such lafull proceedinges, the Secretaries, the wreteris of the plottes alledged, be newer brought to her presence nor confronted. Shee is adiudged to die, without all ceremonies of iustice usuallie obserwed towardes the most abject person of all. They depart altogether as ignorant for takinge true notice of the mater, or enformed by anie witnes of the truth of the cause wherfore they came as the childe not yeet borne.

But to dispatche the innocent ladie, and ridde her out of the waie, the sentence is diwulged ; the copie was showen to a werie fewe, and werie fewe hawe seene it, least the pronuncers should be eshamed theroff, it was so iniuste, it was so full of hidden mysteries they wold not hawe it made too commone or published. The publicatioun of the sentence, with the commission to execut it, is sett doune heire, but the sentence can not be come bye, it was so honest.

" ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defendrice of the faith, &c. It beinge giwen ws to understand, with great apparence of the truth, to our greate sorrowe, that some litle while ago manie thinges hawe beene plotted, imagined and resolutlie appointed, tending directlie to the offence and destruction of our roiale person, and subuersion of the state of this realme, by forren invasions and domestickre rebelliouns, asweele by the Scottishe Queene abyding in our realme vnder our protection, as by manie other wiked persons of her intelligence, which hawe frielie confeffed it, and hawe therupon, after due informatioun, been judged and executed

by the lawes, as they hawe deserwed. And albeit in truth, this hath  
beene to us a greate greiffe and deepe sorrowe of minde, to thinke or  
imagine that such vnnaturall and monstrosous actiouns hawe beene  
voluntarlie agreed and consented vnto by her against us, that is a  
princes borne of our bloode, of our sexe, and one that was manie times  
before faiwed and preserwed in liffe and honour. This notwithstanding-  
inge, we hawe beene so directlie drauen to belieue that all is true, by  
wiewe and intelligence of ewident prowes, that hawe beene broughte  
before ws, of thinges coming and proceedinge from her, asweele as  
from the conspiratouris, which frielie and willinglie, without constrainte,  
confessther conspiracies coniointlie with her, and prepared against  
our person and realme, which we hawe goode reason to thinke should  
be a thinge werie dangerous to suffer to passe to ther full and inteir  
effect: for this cause we hawe beene by diwers of our lordes of our  
nobilitie and others, our lowinge and faithfull subiectes, seriouslie  
mowed and councelled to giwe ordour without delaie, to enquire and  
examine all these conspiracies awerred to be manie waies, to hawe  
beene made indirectlie against us and our realme by the saide Queene  
of Scottes, and to uise all meanes that be most readie and expedient  
to refist, or rather to prewent them: And it greatlie displeaseith us to  
proceede against her, (beinge a Queene and daughter of a Kinge,) by  
ordinarie course and waie of our lawes of our realme, as we mighte  
laufullie do, as by informatioun, decree inscription, confronture of wit-  
nesses, or other like meanes; in regards of our honour and her person,  
We ar adwised by the sage councilouris giwen to proceede in the  
examination in such a cause, after the most honourable waie that we  
can in this our realme dewise, accordinge to an A&t of Parliament last  
made, the 23 of November, the 27 of our reigne: Accordinge to the  
which, by our commiffions vnder the Greate Seale of Englande, giwen  
at the castle of Windsore, in the countie of Barkeshire, the fixte of

October last, We hawe, for this effect, assignd, named, and appointed, and also ordained, all my Lordes, and other of my priwie councell, and so manie courte Barons and Lordes of the Parliament of the first range, and of auncienteſt nobilitie of this realme, who, with my Lordes and others of my faide councell, make in number 42, ioninge with them ſome of the cheiffe and principall iudges of the courtes of recorde at Westminſter, making in all 47, to examine all thinges deſigned and imagined to the hurte of our roiale person, asweele by the faide Queene, called Marie Queene of Scottes, Dourier of Fraunce, as by other of her intelligence, and all ther circumſtances, accordinge to the tenour of the faide [act of] Parliament, and to giue ſentence and iudgement as they ſhall fee goode prowes the caſe requireth, as doeth appeare by the faide commission. And the greater paire of the faide councellouris, my Lordes and iudges, named in our faide commiffion, that is, the number of 36, hawe, in hearinge the faide Queene, at her aboade in the caſtle of Foderinghaie, at diuerſe fittings in publick place, moft exactlie, iuftlie, and with mature deliberation and adwife, examine all the maſters and crimes wherwith ſhee was charged and accused, tendinge to the foirfaide dangers mentioned in our commission, and all ther circumſtances, and hawe alſo harde and underſtoode, in the moft favourable maner that they coulde, that which the faide Queene could or woulde ſaie to excuse her ſelff, and for her iuftification: Vpon the which, a little time after, that is, the 20 of October laſte paſt, all the councell, my Lordes and iudges, hawinge heire conſidered, and vnderſtoode, and examined the faide cauſe in her preſence, as is aſoirfaide, with one woice, affent and conſent, after mature deliberatioun, hawe giuen ſentence in maner and forme followinge: That after the firſt of June in the 27 yeare of our raigne, and before the date of our commission, diuers thinges hawe beene plotted and imagined in this realme of England by Antonie Babington and others, with intelligence of the

faide Marie pretending righte to the croune of this realme, tendinge to the detriment, death and ruine of our roiale person : and likewise, that after the first daie of June afoirfaide, and before the date of our commision, the faide Marie, pretendinge right to the croune, hath plotted and dewised within this faide realme diwers thinges to the detriment, ruine and death of our faide roiale person, agaist the forme of the faide statute : The which sentence and iudgement the saidis Lordes and Commissioners hawe with one accord, cauffed to be made in writinge, and duelie ingrossed with the verball processe of ther maner of proceedinge, which they hawe subscribed with ther handes, as more ample appeareth by the report which hath beene made to us ; and after the faide sentence and iudgement so giwen and reported, my Lordes and other estates in this Parliament assembled, hawe manie times in open Parliament harde and considered the principall evidences of the facte, the processes and circumstancies vpon the which the faide sentence was grounded, and ther suffrages giwen in Parliament hawe affirmed it to be a iuste, true and lauffull sentence, and approwed for such by ther writinge to ws presented, shewinge vnto us howe they sawe doubtles the imminent and greate daunger to our person and realme, which might befall if this sentence were not fullie executed. And therfore, by humble supplicatiouns, and werie serious demaundes, with one accord made vnto us, after they had acceſſe vnto us by diwers requestes presented vnto us, with manie reasons of greate importance, force and wertue, prefled and mowed ws to that which the faide sentence, so iustlie giwen by them, approwed, as it was faide it was, by us vnder our Greate Seale, by proclamation, declared and published, and in the end executed, accordinge to the tenure of the faide Acte of Parliament.

But the faide Lordes and thrie estates, after so many requestes so seriouſlie by them in Parliament made, perceiwing by our woordes and aunſwers which we made, howe much it displeased ws to hawe so hor-

rible and vnnaturall attemptes of this Queene soundinge in our eares, and to heare them whose precedent offences, manifestlie and dangerouſlie committed agaſt ws, our croune and realme, wer owerpaſſed in our clemencie, repugnant to the adwife and request of our ſubiectes, made aſweele in Parliament as other where; and further, understandinge by ws how much we defiſed that by them and ther concurrence in gene‐rall, and in ſpeciall or particular, ſome other meanes expedient might be found to refiſt ſuch wickednes, attempted aſweele againſt us as the publick ſtate of this realme moſt quiet and peaceable, and the ſecuritie of our goode and loiale ſubiectes; other, I ſaie, then by execution of the faide ſentence, as it was meete and convenient. After manie conſultatiounes by them fewerallie made, and conferences had by them altogether in the name of all the Lordes of the Parliament, by the particular ſuffrages of all the aſſemblie, and of the thrie eſtates, with one generall consent repreſentinge the whole eſtate of our realme, ewerie time that they had acceſſe vnto us, they hawe alledged, declared, and protested, that by longe conſultatiounes and conferences, manie and diuers times by them made by our commaundement, and to content ws in that reſpect, they could finde no other meanes and remedie to provide for the ſecuritie of our perſon, the preſervatioun of them and ther posteritie, nor the continuatioun of the happye eſtate of our realme, without publication and due execution of the faide ſentence. For this conſideratioun, not mowed onlie with our owen greiffe and offence, but owercome with the ſerious requeſtes, the declaratiouns and reaſons of our faide ſubiectes of greate weighte and importance, the nobilitie and eſtate of our realme, who, in iudgement, lowe and naturall care of ws and our realme, exceede all the reſt who hawe not ſo much interest, and ought not ſo much as they be eſteemed; and knowinge forder that the faide ſentence hath beene honourablie, laufullie and iuftlie giwen, conformable to iuſtice and the lawes of our realme, we hawe ſuffered

our felwes to be broughte to ther defires, and accordinge to the faide statute, by this our proclamatioun vnder the Greate Seale of England, to declare, notifie and publishe to all our lowinge subiectes, and to all other persons whatsoewer, that the faide sentence and iudgement was giwen in forme afoirfaide, to the end that they, and eweris of them, maie knowe it and fullie vnderstand it by this our proclamatioun, which we will hawe broughte backe againe to our Court of Chancerie so soone as maie be, with the indorcement of the place and time it was done : Heirof faile you not. In testimonie heiroff we wold hawe the faide proclamation be made patent, and sealed with our Greate Seale of Englande. At our house of Richmonde, 4. December, the 27 yeare of our raigne, 1586."

There be manie thinges heire to be confidered ; and in the firt, the pride, self conceit and crueltie of the hautie minded woman intituling her selff Queene of Fraunce, as if shee so were, whereas shee newer hath anie thinge there ; whereas, with better reason, her cusinge is more worthie, and hath that title, and yeet shee attributeth to her selff this qualitie in fuch forte, that when shee speaketh of the Chrifian Kinge, shee doeth not name him Kinge of Fraunce, but the French Kinge, after a contemptuous and disdainefull maner, as shee doeth the Kinge of Spaine, and all other Chrifian Kinges, the Spanish Kinge &c, as namelie, the Queene of Scottes, the Scottish Queene, as if shee her selff wer the Queene of Scottes, and onlie so, but wer foweraigne Queene ower all the Kinges of Europe. Secundlie, shee saith, that the Scottish Queene was abidinge in her realme vnder her protection. If this woordre, protection, be taken for defence, you see weeble what protection shee had from her, and the iffue weeble declarereth it. This kinde of protection hath the felie lambe in the mouth of the wolfe when he fucketh her bloode. But if it be taken for subiection or waſſalage, as they will feeme to hawe it to be understoode, it [is] aſtōl falſe lie; for this Queene was newer, nor could

be, subiect, nor ewer walde aknowledge or confess her selff to be a waiffale to her. There be some who alledge, that, by Acte of Parliament, shee hath made all those to be declared subiect to her lawes which abide in her realme, of what estate, condition, qualitie or sexe soewer they be : if it be so, it is a manifest token what shee meant, and that this is an affected and exquifite lawe against the lawe of natiounes, to founde ther iurisdiction vpon the Queene of Scottes : But in this shee is foolishe, and her councell altogether ignorant and euil adwised, seeinge it is not in her power to make lawes repugnant to the lawe of nature, and the lawe of all natiounes of the world, that shoulde inwade her to awenge such crueltie inwented by her, (not beinge a laufull Queene, but a bastarde,) tendinge to the dissolution and ruine of all humane societie.

Some alledge that the Queene of Scottes did voluntarilie submitt her selff to this lawe, and subscribed, I knowe not to what affociation, with the subiectes of England, by which they be bounde to fweare and protest to mantaine ther mistres, and to rewenge to the last cast all enterprizes which shalbe made against her liffe and estate. If it be so that [the] Queene of Scottes hawe subscribed to this affociation with the subiectes of England, it is an infallible argument of her goode will to her culinge, and the crime imposid vpon her to be but forged and suborned at ther pleasure, to serwe for a pretexte of iustice longe before prepared and designd for preambles to her deathe. But I thinke not that shee tooke Elizabeth ewer for her superiour, nor that shee submitted her selff to her scepter ; for it is certainlie knownen vnto all the ambaffadouris of forren Princes, that shee newer wold aknowledge that point, no, not althought it might hawe faiwed her liffe in so doinge. But put the case, shee had affociated her with Elizabethes subiectes, it doeth import that shee did it not to become her subiect, but that acte which shee did, (if anie shee did, as is alledged,) was to shewe her zeale and affection to Elizabeth ; and therfore it shoulde not [be] wrested besides

her intention to become a snare, and so turne to her priudice, and be abused against her thought being so interpreted to take from her her liffe, honour, and title and right from her and her issue of the croune of England. If such farre fetched interpretationunes of Elizabethes owen lawes might be allowed and receivied against her intention, when shee paft them as current, touchinge them with her scepter, I thinke manie of them might be made snares for her selff.

But to returne to our present mater we hawe in hande, about the Soveraignitie of a prince, wheroff ther is a greate question amonkest the greatest lawers, and thus it is questioned, Whether a Kinge or Soveraigne prince maie abase him selff so farre foorth, as to make his person or people subiect to the lawes of an other Kinge, and by this meanes to loose and abdicat his iurisdiction, which is the effential forme of Soveraignitie. The resolution of the greatest clarkes is, that he can not do it. And so it is to no purpose for the councell of England to hawe drawnen by these cunninge sleigtes from this ladie, such a subscription of there league and confederacion, since shee can not dismisse her selff of her Soveraignitie: for prowe heiroff, let them aknowledge them selwes to be the popes wassalles and subiectes, if this probleame of thers holde for current lawe. Did not Kinge John dismisse him selff of the croune of England, resigninge it ower in the popes handes, for him and his successoures, to be held of the pope in fie farme for payinge him a thousande merkes a year? I thinke the councell of Englannde will not saie this acte was goode in lawe, albeit it was done by him with all ceremonies requifite, yea, althought the barons had approwed it with ther handes and feales, as no doubte ſome of them did, and ſpeciallie thoſe that wer of his priwie councell for the time. So albeit this ladie could dismiffle her ſelff of her Soveraignitie, as ſhee can not in ther owen opinion, ſo it is, that this pretended ſubiection, ſo extorted from a preſoner by feare, or force and violence to ſaiwe her liffe and estate, think-

inge by these meanes to escape ther bloodie handes, should take no place before anie iudge in the world.

But I am assured, and it [is] weele knownen, her Maiestie was a ladie of such a pregnant witte, and fuch curagious spirite, that newer such a thought came in her minde so to hazarde her roiale person, and to obscure her honour, that shee wold ewer condiscend to that which all her noble auncestoures did defend againt Elizabethes progenitoures, which they could newer attaine vnto. Who is so rude and ignorant that hawe not harde it reported, that it was her Maiesties commounē speach, when ewer they mowed her in anie such motion, that shee wold newer so dismisse her ffe Soveraignitie, that shee wold prejudice her selff or sonne either of her croune which shee had in possession, or of the righte of an other which either shee had a righte vnto, althought shee should [be] threatned therto by the losse of her liffe. Shee could newer abide anie that wolde make the least motion of submision to Englishe, or to demitte her theroff to anie other but her sonne. Shee said ewer shee wold newer subiect a kingdome and state, so auncient, noble and famous, to a broken scepter so often owerthroune, conquered, and reconquered by fuch as had no title nor name of Soweraignitie, but subiectes to other Soweraigne Kinges. And so to conforme my selff in this opinion in all ther proceedinges made againt her Maiestie, lett the shambles liar now speake, if he can or darre be so impudent, let him denie it if he can, whether did her Maiestie ewer at anie time aknowledge Elizabethe to be her Soweraigne, or her selff to be in anie wise subiect to her? did shee not ewer denie, boith in woordē and wrete? did shee not alvaiers denie to giwe vp her righte and title shee had, or mighte hawe, to the croune of England, boith by woordē and wrete? did not shee ewer denie, that Elizabeth or her councell had anie righte to iudge her? This maie be seene by her Maiesties owen letters heirafter. I can not, then, see howe shee can be vnder Elizabethes protection, and I thinke, in werie deede this affertion

and speach to be flatte lies and manifest illusions, as is all the folish narratioun of the conspiracies imagined and plotted by the Queene of Scottes, as we shall see heirafter.

Nowe touchinge that which is faide, that by the sage adwife of hercouncil, proceedinge is made against the Queene of Scottes in the most honourable maner that maie be dewised, I aunswere, that if it be so, her councell is werie evil taughte, and knowe neither goode, nor honour and honestie ; and I pracie God such honour maie befall them, as they hawe much better deserwed it then ewer shee did. But in so much that the narratioun of such indignities was offered this ladie, ar rather to be learned of her owen mouth, and so beleiwed for truth, then of anie man elles, I will sett doun a letter writen by her to a greate Lord, that was one of her most faithfull and affectionat serwantes ; which I thought goode to insert, to lett you vnderstand not onlie the forme of proceedinge used against her Maiestie, but also to make you knowe the true historie and caufles of this tragedie described by her selff, without culoure or passion, shee hawinge no neede to disguise anie thinge wretinge to him that did thoroulie knowe the eftate of her afaires, her liffe past, her intention, and the greater parte of her secrecies.

“ MONSIEUR, &c. After that I hawe longe deferred thorowe the danger of interceptinge, I hawe in the end condiscended to the motion which hath beene so often made vnto me, to faiwe my selff, if possiblie I could. That which is befalne you shalbe my physition. There be werie fewe serwantes lefte vnto me, and I knowe not howe longe those that ar with me shalbe suffered to be with me. I knowe not whether I shall hawe leasure to make my laft will, and whether they will giwe leawe to do it. I can not hawe anie to wrete for me : all my monie, jewelles, and papers be taken awaie from me. I hawe request but for one serwant more, but can hawe no aunswere. If this faele, you ar to be instant

with his Holines, as with the Christian Kinge, and the Kinge of Spaine, the Duke of Lorran, and all other Christian princes, my parentes and friendes, that my papers, monie, iewelles and other mowables be restored me againe ; and that such thinges as shall appeare alredie to be distributed amongst my serwantes, they maie enioye it, that my conscience maie be discharged that waie. You will thinke thos newes strange, if you hawe not as yeet harde of it, that by the mouth of my Lord of Bukhurst, Amias Paulet, my cruell jealour, and one Drewe Drurie Knighte, and Beale, it was notified vnto me that the assemblie of ther [council] had condemned me to die, which they saide they wer commanded to signifie vnto me on the parte of ther Queene, exhortinge me to confesse and aknowledege mine offences against her, that I mighte die pacientlie and weeke, to the discharginge of my conscience. Shee sent vnto me a Bishope and a Deane, tellinge me the occasion of this my death, was the instant request of her people, alledging, while I her competitorift liwed, (as it appeared that I had longe ago taken the name and armes of this croune, without willingnes to acquite it, onles I might stand as second person,) shee could not liue sure in her estate, seeinge the Catholiques called me ther Soweraigne Queene, and her liff had beene often practised against to that end. Secondlie, and that wherunto shee had more regarde, was that whilleft I liwed the estate of her religion could not be assured. I thanke God, then, and them for the honour they giwe me, to be so necessarie an instrument for the re-establisshinge of the religion within this whole Isle, of which, (though vnwoorthie,) I wold take vpon me to be a most earnest and zealous defendreffe, in the testimonie wheroff, as I had often protested, I wold willinglie shed my bloode ; and further also I wold take vpon me, if for the publikt goode and peace of this Isle, the people thought that my bloode mighte stande them in steade, not to spare it, nor refuse to be liberall theroff, till the last drope, in lieue and recompence of longe tuentie yeares empresounment that I

hawe beene heire detained, flatte contrarie to your Queenes promise by her owen hand wreete, and her ambassadoures, so often made vnto me. But nowe I weeble perceiwed shee did all this and more to take me in her nettes, for I trusted her promeses so much, that I refused the faithfull adwifre of my owen subiectes and loiale cuntrie men, who wold never giwe me ther consent to seeke for anie succour of Englande, who had so often treacherouslie drawnen my honourable auncestoures by faire promeses, which they newer keepte, into ther snares. As for my conscience, I saide I coulde dispose of it without them, and that wold willinglie receive the holie sacrament departinge this liffe, if I might hawe one to giwe me that and other conforte accordinge to my minde.

They aunswerved me tauntinglie, I had enough to do, if I wer neither sainte nor martyre, for I died for the murder of ther Queene, and because I wold hawe dispossessfed her of her roiale scepter and croune. I tolde them I was newer so desirous to aspire to honoures, that I wold come to them by murder, and that I was newer so presumptuous, as to thinke my selff woorthie of the name of a sainte or martyre: Let ther Queene, in her pretensed maner, take these titles to her, as shee presumpteuoslie with her father usurped the title, heade of the church, which is proper to Jesus Christe alone, my onlie Sawiour and Redeemer. I saide forder, albeit by Godes permision, for cauffes knownen to his diwine Maiestie, not by anie righte of lawe or iustice that had my bodie in ther handes, and had power (as said is) ower it, yeet had they no power ower my soule to hinder me to hope that, by his mercie who sent his sonne to die for me, I maie enter into glorie: the power that they had of my bodie, I saide, was like the power of theiwas and robars ower an honest and true man travellinge by the hie waie. I saide I was newer so desirous to rule anie realme, that to attaine therunto I minded to shed anie mannes bloode by murderinge them, takinge awaie ther liffe that wold loose ewerlaftinge liff my selff. God forbide that ewer

anie such thought should enter into my hearte. I protested and called God to witnes, before whome one daie ther Queene and I, and all my false accusers should be presented, that I newer dewised, councelled, or commaunded her death, nor had anie minde to hurte her person for my particular, nor had anie intelligence with anie that intended or purposed anie harme to her. Hoo, saie they, you hawe suffered, permitted and councelled that the Englishe should name you their Queene and ther Soweraigne, as appeareth by the letters of Allen and Lowis, and manie other more, and you newer contradicted it: To which I aunswered, I had vndertaken no thinge, but to hinder the doctours and men of the church to name me so at ther pleasour. Further, they alledged that the Pope did as yeit still praie for me vnder the name of that title: I aunswered, if he did so, I was not priwie to it. To be breiffe, I saide, I desired to liwe in the church, as in the bosom of my mother, but not to murder anie in it to hawe ther place; for in this point, I sawe the like in the persuite that Saule made against Dauid, but I could not, as he did, escape through the windoe, but that ther might of my bloode, thought it wer longe to, arise some protectoures and awengeres of the innocencie of my cause, and I doubted, but my God [wold] see howe I was delte with on all handes.

But nowe not longe since the other daie, Paulet and Drewe Drurie, the more modest and much more courteous by oddes, came to adwertise me, that since I was admonished to prepare confession and repentance of my faultes against ther Queene, but neither ther Bishope nor they requested me to remember my finnes against my God, whome I ewer beseech to be mercifull vnto me throwe Jesus Christe, for all my grievous finnes against his divine Maiestie done and committed, and against all man and woman whatsoever, and speciallie against ther Queene, if in anie thinge I had offended her, but to craiwe her pardon that I had purpose or intelligence to murder her, I newer thought on such a

mater, lett be to practise it, and therfore wold newer craiwe forgiwenes at her handes, or anie man elles in her name, for that mater. They faide, if I wold not aknowledege my offence towardes ther mistres, that shee had commaunded them to take from me my clothe of estate, signfeinge therby that I was but a deede woman, without honour or dignitie of a Queene. I aunswere, fince God by his grace had called me, thought they tooke awaie my cloth of estate from me, yeit they could not take from me the white clothe of innocencie in the maters they charged me with, nor the kingdome of my Sawiour, who had assured me of it in my conscience, thorowe his merites who knoweth weeble my innocencie in all thosse other imputatiounes most iniuftlie laide to my charge ; and for the dignitie of a Queene, I had it of him in the same mercie, and was anointed therin by his prouidence, and did holde it onlie of him, and to him onlie wold I rander it with my soule. As for ther Queene, neither shee, her councell, nor her asssemblie of her cruell hearted states, they could not take my liffe from me, nor my roiale dignitie, except the diwne permission had suffered the same. I must saie with my Sawiour, they could hawe no power ower me except it had beene giwen them from abowe. God my Creatour and my Redeemer gaiwe me liffe, honour and dignitie ; to this God I giwe boith againe with all my hearte and my soule, truftinge by his mercie to be faiwed. God is my onlie superiour ; as for your Queene I newer thought to aknowledege her to be woorthie to be placed in the roume and place of my God. God is my onlie superiour, and therfore will I newer thinke [her] woorthie to be so to me, nor her councell and asssemblie of her states to be my laufull judges : tell her from me, that I shall die a frie and roiale Queene, in that dignitie God hath giwen me, in despite of her and them ; and that neither shee nor they hawe anie power or superioritie ower me, except such as thei wes hawe at the corner of a woode or hedge ower an innocent man and a true, goinge about his laufull busines. God can

scourge with the rode, and then throwe the rod in the fire. The Lord shall after my death lett it be seene exemplifeed in them, that be the causers theroff, that they and the most of them either before or on ther death, or after the same, shall hawe no honour, conforte or greate esperance, but shame, confusion and the worme of conscience, eatinge them vp like a gangren without all hope of conforte. I shall, (by the assistance of Goddes holie sprite guidinge me,) die chearfullie in my innocencie, when they, in the terrour of conscience, fearfullie shall make an end of ther miserable liffe, onwillinge to paire from this earthlie paradice, fearinge throwe the guiltines of ther crueltie against me, they can not hawe acceſſe to the heawenlie paradice. Manie Kinges of England hawe beene cruellie murdered, and therfore it feemeth no newe thinge to me to [be] accounted one in that role: But this is my conforte, I shalbe innocent of that which they pretend against me to cloake my murder. God forgiwe them, and I pardon them with all my hearte.

After, when my loiale, true and faithfull serwantes wolde not at ther commaund, althought they wer hardlie threatned, put ther handes to worke to take doun my clothe of state, and did boldlie refuse it, and hearinge younge children crie aloude a wengeance vpon him and his companie, the burriour calleth to him seawan or eight of the gwardes to pulle it doun, and cowered him selff in it: which beholdinge I faide, that cloth was newer ordained to hide thy treacherous and wicked desigues against the dignitie roiale of a Prince. He aunſwered me, lookinge vpon my chaffe table, that it was not nowe time for me to exercise my pastime at the chaffe, and therfore he wold take it with him. I faide, I thanke my God I newer recreatid me at it, or anie other game, but I could forbear it when I had anie earnest busines to go about, and since this last busines came to my knowledge, I minded to recreate my selff onlie with spirituall recreationes, and the conforte which the Lord in mercie hath affoorded me, more then I,

poore wretch, could expect or desyre at his handes. Thanks be to him therfore.

I assembled yesterdaie together my litle companie of attendantes, as yeet lefte me, whome I directed to be true witnesses of my protestatiounes, af- weeles in my religion, as to discharge my conscience in that wherwith they falflie urged me, that is, that I should hawe distributed the estates of this realme, and other lies of the which I hawe cleared my selff, and which I newer knewe of, as knoweth God. I hawe charged them in the name of God, for the discharge of a goode conscience, that I hawe done for the discharge of my owen conscience that which becometh a true Chrifian to do, and hawe lefte no thinge behinde vnperformed which might staine the reputatioun of my honour and thers whome in anie waies I maie concerne. I am certainlie informed that they hawe bribed some to faie I hawe done the like to haisten ther mistres death. I saide it, and true it is, I neither knewe anie such mater, nor yeet wold denie it, if so had beene, but aske and craiwe mercie at Goddes handes, who hath mercie in store for all penitent sinners, amongest whome I count my selff the cheiffest, but not in that which is falflie laide to my charge, as knoweth God.

I commend vnto you my poor serwantes, so often commended : I recommend them ower againe vnto you, and all my weeles willinge freindes, and that in the name of God ; they, goode people, hawe lost ther time, and all in the loffe of me : bid them adewe on my parte, and giwe them your best councell in charitie. Commende me to Lutine, and bid him remember howe I promesed to die constant, and that I am quitte of my promese : Commende me to all of his minde, and tell him I am werie willinge, and ewer beene so minded, to sacrifice my selff for the salvatioun of soules within this Isle. Adewe nowe for the last time, and hawe in minde the honour of her who some time was your mistres, and weeles willinge goode freinde ; and if by finifter information or misinterpretation of your serwices, I hawe beene offended,

I pracie you and all my fervantis to pardon me that which I maie hawe done in anger or misunderstandinge; for I protest, I thinke you not culpable in anie thinge towardes me, and I pardon you with all my hearte wherin soewer you hawe offended me: and I pracie you thinke that I aknowledege my selff most bounde to all my ferwantes for all ther goode ferwices; and that wold I hawe requited, if I had not beene prewented in the meanes, (as saide is,) and if it had pleased God to hawe giwen me longer liffe, which fince it maie not be, I will heartilie pracie vnto God at my last breth and end, that my soule maie be faiwe, and to rewarde them better than ewer I could do. God be with you and all my ferwantes, whome I must leawe as almanie orphanes, to be provid for of him who hath prepared for me his heavenlie kingdome, there to raigne with him world without [end]. To him, therfore, be all glorie and honour. Amen. Foderinghaie, this Thurisdai<sup>e</sup>,  
24 November 1586.

Your most lowinge and goode mistres, &c.

M. R.

Under and belowe were these woordes wreten, thus—

“ They falſſlie mantaine that my cominge into this cuntrie was against my will, and that I could not hawe anie other place of refuge; and that I, for that caufe, was in ther protection. I faide the contrarie, and it is true: and Lochinwar, Hereis the younger, and the heires of the Archbiſhope of St Andrewe, with Fleminge, that tooke all of them letters of discharge vnder my hand, in that againſt ther goode will and likinge I wolde needes come in to England, which they faide had ewer delte treacherouſlie with ſo manie of my auncetouris that came within the dominiouſs therof, althought by faire promeſes they had beene notified and invited to come. And therfore I faide, my father did wife lie in returninge backe againe when as he was about to hawe commed to Yorke to meeete Henrie 8, and that they wer his faithfuller ſubiectes

who gaiwe him councell so to do. But I commaunded my best freindes to permit me to hawe my will, hopinge that, accordaninge to promese, I should hawe founde freindshipre where I hawe founden none; but in fleade theroff, all kinde of violence and persecution, on my parte vndeserwed. I priae you gett me the wretes exemplified which I gaiwe them for ther discharge."

I hawe sett doune this last clause as an appendice necessarie to convince Buchannans historie of impudencie, in reportinge the discourse of the last troubles in Scotland, to hawe fallen out and come to passe by the rebellioone of those that stooode for the righte of ther lafull Queene, accordaninge to the goode likinge of Elizabeth, the pretended Englishe Queene, whose factioun he had ewer followed against his cuntrie, and against his true and lafull Queene and mistres. I am of the opinion he was the sonne of some commone strumpett, he hath so defended in his wretis the dewilishe wicked dealinges of thrie bastardis, Elizabeth, Murraie and Morton, against his saide mistres.

But to returne to the honourable maner of proceedinge, which the Englishe is saide to hawe kept in the behalfe of the Queene of Scottes, you see by this letter which I hawe sett doune to lett you knowe wheroff they hawe accused her and howe, and to shewe you the litle and smalle apparence of zeale in iustice was used in her triale; for so farre from it was shee that shee conspired, attempted, or imagined anie thinge against Elizabeth, that, vpon the contrarie, shee desired by all meanes to preferwe her from the ambushes and euil intentiouns of those, which her cusinge, not weeke adwised, thinketh stille, so longe as shee liwed, her best and trusliest ferwantes, beinge no thinge leffe then so but the greatest traitouris that maie be imagined; and in the end, if they can, and be not prewented, had not failed to ride them felwes of her, as shee, by ther wicked persuasions, had made an end of her nearest kinnifwoman, whome shee had cauffed them to putt to death to satiffie

ther ambitious humour, which, vnder the maske of zeale, they faine to hawe to her serwice, prepare for her the losse of her liffe, the extreme ruine of her estate, to remowe her scepter to an other house and familie that is nearar to thers then hers; which you maie weeple perceiwe by a letter writen to Elizabeth by her faide cusinge a litle before her death. In it you maie [perceiwe] by manie ewident signes, the meaninge of this ladie towardes her cusinge, the forged crimes laide to her charge, and the vnfeingzied lowe shee bare to her greatest ennemis, and likewise the honourable maner of proceedinge, which they saie they obserwed in her triale, in regarde of her persoune, which shalbe followeth foorth fullie, after we hawe sett down the letter, in the same woordes shee wrete in, as heirafter followeth.

Marie Q. of Scottes  
to Q. Elizabeth.

MADAME, hawinge obtained libertie and licence of them to whome I was committed, and to whome I hawe beene, as it wer, giwen by you, to shewe you that which is in my hearte, asweele for the diſcharge of my conſcience of anie euil or enwious deſire to committ anie cruell or hoſtile aȝte againſt you, to whome I am ſo neare allied in bloode, as alſo charitablie to communicaſt vnto you, that which I thought might ſerwe alſo for your ſaiwegarde and preſeruation, as for entertaininge peace and quiet repoſe within this Ilande, a thinge which can not hurt, it beinge in your power to take or reiect my adwife, to beliue or not to beliue my diſcourse as it ſeemeth beſt vnto you. I hawe refolwed to fortiſie my ſelff in Chrifte onlie, who will newer feill of iuſtice and conſolatioun to them that do invocate him in finceritie of hearte, and in ther tribulatiounſ flie vnto him, who then is redieſt to do it when beinge defiſtute of all humane ſuccour they flie vnto him. To him be glorie therfore, for he hath not denied me my heartes deſire, nor fruſtrate me of my expeſtatioun, for he hath giwen me a goode hearte and curage pacientiile to ſuffer and endure theſe iniuſtices and calumnious accuſa-

tions, and the false condemnatiounes of thos who hawe no iurisdiction ower me, and I hope, against hope, with a constant resolution to die, not that I deserwed so to do for anie thinge I hawe done agaist you ; but for that I, your competitrice, could newer be perswaded by the English to surrendre my righte in your handes, of that which God, in his mercie, had preordinat me vnto : which if I should hawe done, I could not hawe aunswered him at the dreadfull daie of iudgment, giwinge from me that which he had put in my handes for the goode of my posteritie, to whome one daie I trusfe my Lord God shall graunte the grace to enioye it in peace and his feare. Since, therfore, it was on your parte giwen me to understand of the sentence of the last assenble of some of your estates, admonishinge me by my Lord Buckhurste and Beale, to prepare my selff for my longe desired iorneie, I praied them to thanke you on my parte for such goode newes, and to entreate you to graunte me certane tyme, for the better discharge of my conscience ; wheroff Sir Amias Paulet gaiwe me after false notice, layinge, that you had therwith gratifeid me, permittinge me my Almoner, and my moneye and jewelles which was taken from me, and he assured me other thinges wold follow ; for the which I wold willinglie hawe giwen you thankes : and further will begge this one last favoure, which for manie cauffes I thinke ought not to be communicated to anie but onlie to you, in that it is the last favour, for which I desire to be bounde to no other but your selff ; because I expect to finde no thinge but crueltie amongst the greatest parte of thos who beare authoritie vnder you at this present, thè be so animate against me, as I hawe boith perceiwed my selff, and harde of others woorthie of credite. God knoweth for what cause, and in what respect. I pardon them with all my hearte : I will not condemne anie, nor accuse them. I pardone them, I faie, and ewerie one, as I desire that ewerie one should pardon me, and that God should do it first.

After which, I weele knowe, that the honour or dishonour of your

bloode, speciallie of a Queene, your neareft kinnifwoman aliwe, and the daughter of a kinge, so honourablie descended lineallie of so manie kinges from kinge to kinge to me, that no Christian kinge can reken the like pedegrie; this, I saie, I thinke should touch your heart nearest of anie other: and therfore, in the name and honour of Jesus Christe, whose name and honour to all princes ought to be most deare, and to whome they should rander all due obedience, I request you, that after my enemis shall hawe satifseed ther insatiablie desire in sheddinge my innocent bloode, which they hawe longe thirsted for, my poore companie of servantes maie hawe leawe, cariage and bearinge awaie my bodie to be buried, where some of my honourable auncestoures be enterred, foorth of England; for heire, in this cuntrie, I can hawe no place of buriall amongest your predecessoures, which be also mine, for that is denied me: but who knoweth but God one daie, (althought man on earth refuse this charitable petition and last request,) maie bringe it to passe, howloewer nowe it seemeth to be almost impossible.

You knowe the patriarkes hawe beene werie desirous of this, and hawe had the like libertie graunted them of thoſe who did make ſuch ſhowe of pietie as you do in no thinge; and because it [is] tolde me you will in no thinge force or straine my conſcience, and will permitt me to hawe accordinge to my minde of religion, I hope you will not denie me this laſt request, that the heathen princes hawe graunted the patriarkes of the originall world, that is, to permitt frie buriall, accordinge to my minde, of my corpes, after my ſoule ſhalbe ſeparated from the bodie, and returne to God that gaiwe it, into whose handes I committ it to reſt with him; which, when they wer vnited heire, they coulde newer hawe libertie to liue at repofe, in that quiet I longe wiſhed, neither did you laubour or procure them to be winne vnto God and your ſelff: but yeet I hope to reſt with him world without end, althouſt you, in this pointe, hawe had little care in performinge

this christian dewetie towardes your distressed neareſt kinnifwoman in her lifetyme. As for my death, I pardon you, as I desired to be pardoned of God and you in all thinges : in which regarde, before God I do challenge you of no faulte, but God, after my death, maie make you ſie and ſiae the truth on my behalffe. And because I weeſe perceiwe the ſecrete hidden tyrannie of ſome, I praie you that, without your knoweledge and priuitie, I maie not go to execution, not for feare of torment, which, (I thanke my God that he hath ſo strengthned me with ſpirituall conforſt,) I do not feare to endure, feeinge his ſonne, my deare Sawiour, had ſuffered more guiltleſſie then I am able to endure. I praie you let me ſuffer openlie, and not be murdered in ſecrete, for the brute which ſhalbe made of my death without teſtimonie : for it hath beene ewer commone in this cuntrie to reporte otherwife then the truth of theſe the ſtate diſliked, yea ewen ther death malicious . . . . and hatred moſt ſpitefull hawe not died ; which to awoide, at leaſt graunt that my owen ferwantes that be leſte me, if you will ſuffer none other, may be eie witneſſes to teſtifie of my end made in the faith of my Sawiour, and obedience of the church, and that they together careinge my corpes ſo quietlie and ſecretlie, as it ſhall pleafe you, thither where I hawe defired it to be enterred, maie retire them felwes where it ſhall pleafe God to guide them, without anie hinderance to carie with them the ſmalle thinge they hawe in ther poſſeſſion, which I thought to hawe augmented, if your officers had not before hand taken all that was mine from [me], which hindered the charitable meaninge I had to do theſe my poore orphaines, as ſo manie poore motherles children, the goode I intended; but the Lord, I trufte, will do that in his mercie for them, which I was willinge, but not able to do.

One jewell I hawe had from you, which I meane to ſend you againe with my laſt woordes ; and I praie you againe, and require you in the name of God, and in regarde of our confanguinitie, and for the lowe you beare to kinge Henrie 7. your grandfather and mine, and in hon-

our of the dignitie which we hawe held, and of our common sexe, that these my last requestes be graunted me. Touchinge the rest, I hope you shall knowe that my clothe of state, longe before my death, was taken from me ; which mighte weeble hawe beene permitted me so longe as I liwed : what curtefie, what humanitie was there in this, to take it awaie so longe as I liwed, beinge borne a Soweraigne Queene ? I might hawe enjoyed this simble badge of the honour of a prince during my liffe. But what remedie ? I looke for a cloth of state in the hie heawens with my Saviour, ewen the merites of his death and passion, to cower my finnes. After I understoode that this was done onlie by the adwife of your counsell, and not by your commaundement, I did giwe you thankes for it, and my God, that gawe me patience and curage to endur ther inhumane dealinge and crueltie, afflictinge me ewerie waie, hawinge resolwed my selff to laie doun this liffe so trubleſome to me, that I maie attaine a better without all truble and miserie. I feare that manie other thinges hawe had the like cariage, which, I suppose, was the caufe they wold [not] suffer me to wrete vnto you, before they had so farre foorth as the could in ther pretended maner, for a cloake in outwarde showe to the execution of ther malice, degraded me of all principalitie and nobilitie. God be praised for all. I wolde all my papers had beene presented vnto you without all disguiſinge, that therby you might hawe perceiwed that the onlie care of your ſaiftie mowed them in this action, that are ſo readie to perſecute me your neareſt kinnifwoman. If you will graunte me this laſt request, commaunde that I maie ſee what you wretherant, for otherwife they will deale with me at ther pleasure ; for vnto this laſt request, I defire your laſt charitable aunſwere, that I maie ſee trulie as it is deliuered.

To conclude, I defire the God of mercie, the righteous iudge, to enlighten you with his holie spirite, to deale with me vprightlie as the caufe requireth, and that he will giue me his grace to die in the faith of Christ, and in charitie with all men, as I diſpoſe my ſelff to do, pardon-

inge all who be interested in my death, and the copartners and caufiers theroff: such shall be my praier till my last breth, and the soule parte from the bodie. I beseech you, take it not for presumption if, abandoning this world, and preparinge my selff for a better, I trulie shewe you, that you shall hawe one daie a more vnquiet end then I am like to hawe, when your senses and memorie shall not hawe ther power to utter, and shewe in what cace you leawe this world, nor mine, (I thanke God for it,) are like to hawe: for, by the bleffinge of God, such hath ewer beene his care ower me, they newer failed me yeet, nor yeet I hope shall do: To him be the praise therfore. Thinke before it come, you must aunswere for your charge asweele as these who be gone before you: heire you hawe no permanent place, and I desire that all that be of my bloode, bethinke them selwes to dreame in time of these thinges that hawe hapned vnto me heire, duringe the time of iniuste detention and captiuitie. The Lord for his mercie graunte vnto ws all, and to ewerie true Christian, so to thinke of this, and all other earthlie afflictions and temporall, that in the meane time they forget not eternall. Amen. Foderinghaie, the xix of November 1586.

Your sifter and cuflinge prefoner, with iniurie.

M. R.

The indifferent judge maie heire [see], in the werie entrie of the letter, the honourable proceedinges, and the confcionable iustice done towardeſ the prefoner Queene. Shee is giwen for a prae to her ennemis: ſhee is giwen into ther handes to iufe or abuse at ther pleasure; they gulle her: they diſdaine her; they refraine her ſo rigourouſlie, that ſhee hath not ſo much libertie as to complaine: Shee is not ſuffered to wrete vnto her kinnifwoman that ſhould do her iuftice, no, not after they hawe molefited her with infinite iniuries. The commone lawe and the politie of kingedomes weele governed, where lawes and iuftice hawe place, giwe

not leawe to jealoures to handle presoners after ther discretion, neither can they hinder them to iuse meanes to the judge : they darre not passe the order prescribed them : they darre not iniure nor brawe anie person committed to ther warde. But heire we maie see the intreatie this noble Princes, who can not iustlie be counted a presoner, when as shee hath no other iudge but God : shee is committed from an ialour to another, to be wexed and tormented so longe as liffe lefteth. It is lauffull for anie offendant presoner to serwe him selff, at his proper coste and charges, with some attendant or ferwant, one or mo, at ther pleasour, where they be empresoned, accordinge to ther degrie and qualitie of ther persone ; to hawe apparell, linnenes and other thinges needfull ; to cherise them with victualles and drinke, as ther abilitie will permitt : and that which is more, they hawe ther advocates and procurers to helpe them selwes by ther councell, and to solicite for them. But all these thinges be denied this Queene, yea, ewen when shee was diseased in sicknes, when shee was vnable to help her selff, they permitt not so much as two maides to helpe her : they allowe her onlie one maide to attend her, and a warlet for her chamber ; and as for that which Paulet tolde her, that her Almoner should be restored to her, it was not true ; for her Maiestie newer did see anie of her officers and principall serwantes but her physition and the apothecarie, without whose helpe shee had beene deade longe before they had concluded all ther treacherous designes against her, and prepared all the miseries they thoughte meete to practise, before they deliwered her ower in the handes of the executioner.

Touchinge the earnest, charitable petition for buriall and transportinge of her bodie, and other last requestes made so seriouslie by her in this letter, it is plaine and manifest howe they hawe beene denied, and the smalle accompt [that] was made of them ; and hence maie you iudge assuredlie of the goode will of this ladie towarde her cusinge, her greatest ennemie. Shee, in this letter, imputeth not to her the cause of her

death : shee attributeth to her neither the faulfe nor the blame, albeit it was shee that procured her it, all the time of her longe empresonment for the space of tuintie yeares, for it was in her power to hawe preferwed her from it, if shee wold : shee pardoneth from her hearte her death, shee praieth for her, who, in hypocrisie, to cower her malicious desigues against her distressed kinniswoman, did, with a shameles face, giwe it out to the world, shee hath ewer a speciall regarde of her qualitie, and that her triale and the proceedinge therin is honourable, and that the sentence pronounced against her is most true and iuste. It is werie harde to be believed howe Paulet, her cruell jealour, abused her in his propoſtiouns full of contempt and disdaine he made vnto her : and howe, when he had spued out his choler an other wold succeede him, beginninge where he had leſte, uſinge ſuch contumelies as no hearte was able to indure. Such indignities [and] iniuries did ſhee indure danielie, and that pacientlie, ewen to her dieinge daie, yea, in the werie hower ſhee gaiwe vp her ſoule in the handes of the Almighty, ſhee was not frie, nor faiwe from ſuch open, notorious afflictiones, as yee ſhall perceiwe after I hawe ſett doune the commiffion of the English Q., directed to her officers, to proceede to the reale and actuall execution of the ſentence of death. By it you maie perceiwe the true cauſes of the pronuncinge of the ſentence in the behalfe of the pronuncers theroff, accordinge to the commiffion directed to them, which they looke not ſo neare into as they wold needes beare the world in hand they do. But the true cause that mowed them was this. Ther owen affurance, who for the outrages they had offered and done to this ladie duringe her captiuitie, and ther plottes, treafons and carriages they dewifed at all times againſt her liffe and eſtate, fearinge her, and despairinge to finde grace and favour at her handes in that regarde, if anie thinge befell vnfortunateſtie ther miſtres, or, accordinge to comoune course of nature, the Queene preſoner did ſucceede her ; which thinge maie be eaſilie coniectured by readinge and perufing

the werie woordes of the commission it selff : as it is in plaine woordes  
it followeth :

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defendreſe of the faith, To our lowinge and faithfull cusinges, George, Earle of Shreuiburie, Greate Marshall of England, Henrie, Earle of Kent, Henrie, Earle of Darbie, George, Earle of Cumberland, Henrie, Earle of Pembroke, &c. Considering the ſentence giwen by you and other of Our councell, nobilitie and judges, againſt the ſometime Scottishe Queene, Dowrier of Fraunce, by the name of Marie, the daughter and heire of James the fifte, Kinge of Scotland, which all the eſtates of our realme, afſembled in Parliament, not onlie commaunded, but with mature deliberatioun ratifeed, to be iufte and reaſonable : Seeinge likewiſe, the instant praiers and requestes of our ſubiectes follicitinge and preſſinge us to proceed to the publicatioun theroff, and to putt it in execution againſt her person, as they hawe iudged her to hawe iuftlie deſerwed, all ioninge in this regarde, that the detention of her was, and ſhould be, a dailie and certane evident danger not onlie to our liſfe, but alſo to them ſelwes and ther poſteritiſe, and the publicte ſtate of this realme, afweele for the Gofpell and true religion of Chriſte, as for the peace and tranquilitie of the whole ſtate ; upon which, albeit with time and delaie, we made the faide ſentence to be published by our proclamatiōn, and albeit to this werie houre we hawe forborne to graunt this execution to be executed, yett the ample ſatisfaction of the faide requestes made by the eſtates of our Parliament, by which we daielie vnderſtande that all our lowinge and faithfull ſubiectes, afweele of the nobilitie and councell, as alſo our moſt fage, grawe and dewouted of the inferiour forte and condition, with all humbletie and affection for the care they hawe of our liſfe, and conſequentlie for the feare they hawe of the decaie of the preſent religion profeffed, and happy eſtate of this

realme, if we forbearre anie longer this execution ; and albeit the gene-  
rall requestes, and continuall praiers, councell and adwise wer in such  
maters contrarie to our inclination, yeit beinge overcome with urgent  
weight of ther continuall intercessions, tendinge not onlie to the securitie  
of our person, but to the publict and particular goode of the whole  
estate of our realme, we hawe suffered and agreed that iustice should  
take place, and for the execution theroff, for the singular trusfe and  
confidence we hawe of your fidelitie and loialtie, as also for the  
particular lowe and affection which you hawe on your partes for the  
faiwegarde of our person and your natife cuntrie, of which you be all  
of you the most noble and principall members, we commaunde you, and  
for discharge theroff, we enioine you, that vpon the fighte of these pre-  
sentes, you repaire to our castle of Foderinghaie, where the late Queene  
of Scottes is in the keepinge and warde of our lowinge and faithfull ser-  
wante and councellour, Sir Amias Paulett, and to take her into your  
charge, and cause by your commaundement execution be done vpon  
her person in the presence of your felwes, the saide Sir Amias Paulet  
and all others, officers of iustice, that you shall commaund to attend you  
for that effect ; and the saide execution done in such maner and forme,  
and in such time and place, and by such persons as you or anie foure,  
thrie or two of you, shall thinke expedient by your discretion, notwithstandinge  
all lawes, statutes and ordinances whatsoewer, to the contrarie  
to these presentis sealed with our greate seale of England, which shall serwe  
for you, and ewerie one of you, and for all those that shalbe present, and  
shall do by your commaundement anie thinge perteininge to the said exe-  
cution, for a full and sufficient discharge for ewer. Made and giwen at our  
house of Greinewich, the first daie of Februarie, and 29 yeare of our reigne.

This Commiffion so giwen, the 7 daie followinge, which was the 17 of  
Februarie accordinge to the Gregorian callender, the Earle of Shreui-

burie, the Earle of Kent, Mr Beall, and Elizabethes other Commissioners, arriwed at Foderinghaie about two or thrie houres before the middes of the daie, and cominge thither in the presence of Paulet, the Commission was red to the Queene, then presonter, bearinge that in the next daie in the morninge, they wold proceede to the execution, admonishinge her to be in redines betuine seawan and eight of the cloke. Shee, newer a white astonished, thanked them for ther goode newes, afferminge that they could bringe none that liked her better, because nowe shee shold see an end of all her miseries, and that it was longe since shee had made her selff redie to die, ewer suspectinge, fince her detention in England, that shee shold newer finde better at ther mistres handes and thers ; but shee was forie shee was not sooner certifeed theroff, that shee might hawe made her will, and giwen order for all her afaires, and to hawe disposed of such litle meanes as they had lefte her, for the better discharginge of her conscience towardes her poore serwantes, prayinge them to giwe her some time to do it, feeinge they had power to do it without anie checke of the commission. To whome the Earle of Shreuiburie aunswere werie rudlie, “ No, no, Madame, you must die ; make you readie betuine seawan and eight of the cloke in the morninge. We will not prolonge one minute for your pleasure.” Wherwith shee was satiffeed and rested her selff, till they retired them selwes backs from her presence ; which beinge done, shee presentlie sett her selff to make her will, and to distribute the litle moneie they had lefte her amongst her poore serwantes, makinge each of them such allowance so farre foorth as the small quantitie did reach. The night preceedinge her death shee spent in praiers, and readinge the passion of Christe, and other spirituall consolatiounes. Betuine nine and ten of the night, shee sent for her Almoner, whome they wold not suffer to come neare here : which shee perciwinge that, contrarie to promese, it was denied her, shee shold hawe anie spirituall confort from him, shee wrete to him as followeth.

I HAWE beene strangelie assaulted this daie anent my religion, and to Q. Marie to her  
receiwe conforte [and] consolatioune of these of a contrarie minde, who wer  
newer so charitable, all the time of my tuentie yeares captiuitie, to mowe  
in anie such mater. I hawe requested to hawe your furtherance for the  
better disburdeninge of my conscience, and in makinge of my last will ;  
but it is cruellie denied me, as also all libertie to make a frie testament,  
against all ther former promes(es) made to me of boith : yea, they hawe  
denied me that my bodie shall be transported at all, as I did craiwe the  
fame of ther mistres. They will not suffer that I should wrete anie thinge,  
except it be by ther helpinge handes and direction, which boith I hawe  
had no neede of heirtofore, neither stande I so much neede nowe of it,  
but I maie weeble do my owen turne without it. They tell me I must  
do no thinge but at the goode pleasour of ther mistres, and ther per-  
mission. I prae you watche and prae this one nighte with me and for  
me. I confesse all my finnes in generall and in particular, wherin I  
hawe offended my mercifull God, beseechinge him to looke doun from  
the heaven, and to pardon me them in the multitude of his vnspeakable  
mercie, that I maie rest with him at the partinge of my soule from the  
bodie. I thought to hawe had you with me as an eie witnes of this my  
last cariage in so necessarie a time. Giwe me your best adwise what  
maie be my best direction in my praiers this longe nighte, for I desire to be  
dissolwed and to be with Christe my Redeemer. I will yeest affaie to see  
you in ther presence, as they hawe accorded to me in the hearinge of the  
maister of the house. The time is shorte : I hawe no more to saie, but  
adiewe. I will recommend [you] with all the rest of my faithfull ser-  
wantes to the Kinge. I hawe no more leasure. I prae you adwise me  
in all thinges you shall thinke necessarie for my salvatioun, and that in  
wrete. I hawe sent you a small token ; and faire weeble and adiewe  
againe and for ewer. Your lowinge mistres,

M. R.

So the nighte beinge thus spent, and the daie come, about eight of the clocke in the morninge, there entered her Maiesties chamber a bolde malaperte companion, who, without all preface (so shameles faced was he), of honour or rewerence, abruptlie burste foorth with a shoute and outcrie, hawinge a white staffe in his hande, in these woordes, “ Beholde I am come, I am come.” This fellowe, all the while her Maiestie was yeit vpon her knies at her praiers, walked vp and doune harde bye, without makinge anie signe of goode maners and courtesie to anie there, so rude was he. But her Maiestie hawinge ended her praiers, rose vp, thinkinge he came to certifie and foirewarne her of her execution. Shee toke in her hand an ivorie croffe ; her ferwantes, which nowe helde her vp by the armes, beinge amazed, shee conforted them, and because they altogether refused to conweie her to her death, which so much greiwed them, or to be beholders of so terrible a tragedie, Sir Amias Paulet lent her two of his ferwinge men to leade her to the place of execution ; for thorowe longe lingeinge faintnes, and her dailie grievances, she was brought so lowe and weake, that shee was not able to go by her selff ; but yeit God gawe her a goode curage and spirite till the laste gaspe and brethe.

The place of execution was in a greate parlour, in the middes wheroff a scaffolle was sett vp, twelfe foote square and two foote heigh, spred ower with blacke cotton ; towardes the which her Maiestie mounted so nimblie, that shee seemed to hawe no feare of death, neither ewer chainged shee her countenance ; and now beinge come vp, shee rested her selff a litle, and presentlie beginneth to speake to the officers of her cruell cusinge Elizabeth, entreatinge them to permitt her to hawe her Almoner to come to her, to comforte her in her God, and to receiwe of him some confortable instruction, together with the holie sacrament, before her departour out of this wale of misery. The Earle of Kent aunswere, that he was sorie for her to see her so much giwen to the superstitionis of the times past, and that it wer better for her to carie

the croffe of Christe in hearte, not in her hande. To whome shée replied, that it was to litle purpose to carie such a obiect in her hand, if the hearte wer not touched inwardlie with earnest motion and remembrance of his bitter death and passion which he suffered vpon the croffe for miserable mannes finne, that died vpon the croffe. I thinke it, (saieth shée,) a thinge most fitte for ewerie true Christian, to hawe it to putt them in remembrance of ther redemption purchased by Christe, but speciallie they at that time, when death threatneth. But seeinge by no meanes shée could hawe her Almoner, as was promesed, shée made an other motion to them, that all her serwantes might be present to be eie witnesſes of her constancie in true pietie; which, after shée had instantlie desired and promesed that shée wold commaunde and enioine them silence, so that ther cryinges, weepinge and lamentatiouns should be no hinderance or truble to her in her death, they graunted her that two of her maides of honour should come; but one of them at her entrie in the place of execution, seeinge her deare mistres so fordwardlie in preparatioun for the butchers handes, could not conteine her selff from weepinge and pitiefull mone, and fell doune as deade for a time, whome, when her mistres perceiwed to hawe recovered her sensēs, shée incontinent by a figne made to her by her finger vpon the mouth, enioined her silencē; at the fighte of which shée forced her selff to containe her lament. This done, the two maides together mount vp vpon the scaffolde to do ther mistres the last charitable serwice, and that with watterie eyes and sorrowfull heartes: they began to helpe her to take awaie her maske, her coiffe, and other ornamentes: but the shameleſſe executioner could, by no entreatie her Maieftie could make, nor yeet rewarde, be mowed to withholde his helpinge handes; neither did anie of Elizabethes officers forbid him: for after her Maiefties goune was stripte doune to the midle, he snatched her ruldie by the armes and pulled of her doublet, her straite bodies, which wer lowe in the col-

lare, so that her neke beinge all naked, appeared to the spectatoures more white then snowe or alabafter. This done, the cruell butcher kneelethe doun, askinge her forgiwenes. "Do thy office in the name of God, thou art but an instrument; I forgiwe the with all my heart, and all others that be the authoures of my death, ewen with as goode will as I desire my owen sinnes to be forgiwen me at Goddes handes." Shes protested, likewise, in all the beholders presence, that shee newer had attempted anie thinge against the liffe or state of her cusinge, nor committed anie [thing] woorthie of blame, either for the owerthrowe of religion or the commone welthe. If they did impute her constancie in her religion as a faulte woorthie of deathe, lett them looke [to] it, who never had anie care to instruct and informe me otherwise, all the longe time of my tuentie yeares captiuitie. I hope shortlie to be in paradice with my deare Sauiour, Jesu Christe, for whose obedience made for me I doubt not to shedde my bloode, ewen to the last drope. I counte my selff more happie nowe to die in a righte minde to end my miserie, then to liwe longer induringe the daielie reproches of my ennemis, worse then a bitter death, then to attend anie longer till nature, thus faintinge, did finishe the course of her liffe, when shee should not be righte in her senses, and perfite remembrance of her duetie towardes God and her neighbour. Shee saide, shee hoped in him, of whome that croffe shee caried in her hand put her in remembrance, and before whose feete shee prostrated her selff in soule and bodie, that he wold receiwe her into eternal glorie. This temporall shee resigned vp hartelie to him that gaiwe. Shee protested, as before, in all the auditouris hearinge, that shee was innocentlie accused, charged and condemned of such thinges shee newer thought on, and hoped the losse of this temporall liffe should be the passage, beginninge and entraunce to liffe eternall, with the holie angelles and the soules of blessed, that should recewe her soule and innocent bloode, and represent it before God, for a deduction of all her

finnes and offences. Shee besought them all to praiē for [her], that God wold hear her, and that shee mighte obteine grace and pardon.

These wer her praiers, beinge vpon her knees vpon the scaffold, prayinge also for the Pope, the kinges of Fraunce, Spaine, the Queene of England, and the Kinge of Scotland, her deare sonne, that God wold enlighten them all with his spirite, and direct them in the truth, and that he wold take pitie vpon his Church militant, and turne awaie his anger from the Isle of Greate Britanne, which shee did perceiwe he threatned with scourges for the abominable, wilfull impietie committed by the inhabitantes. Shee thus likewise praiē at her firt entrie vpon the scaf-folde, and after reiterated the same thrie fewerall times : but the Deane of Peterborowe, Doctour Fletcher, did what he could to interrupt her, whome shee entreated not to truble her, for shee was fullie resolwed howe to die, without anie councell from him or anie of his sorte : he could giue her no forder contentment for her soule then shee had alredie, for shee did anker her on Christe ; and for the people, they could giue her no forder conforte. This notwithstandinge, the Deane continowed in his praiers, and shee proceeded likewise fordwarde, prayinge in Latine, liftinge vp her woice abowe his so loude, that all being present did clearlie heare her. Shee had a golden croffe about her necke hawinge the image of our Sawiour, which, praiē being ended, shee wold hawe giwen to one of her maides, but the butcher snatched at it, and wold not suffer her, albeit her Maiestie did earneſtly entreat, offeringe him that her maide should giue him thrise the waloue of it, but no remedie : he wolde not lett her hawe it. All beinge redie, shee taketh her last fare weele of her maides, and kiffed them courteſlie, thankinge them for ther faithfull serwices, biddinge them adiewe, and bidde them retire themſelwes quietlie, giwinge them her last bleſſinge, and makinge the figne of the croffe ower them ; but perceiwinge one of them could not holde, but burſte foorth in teares, shee commaunded to holde her peace, and to keepe

silence, tellinge her shee had paste her promese that shee and the other maide should not be trublesome to her in her death: shee bid them boith retire themselwes soberlie, and to prae to God for her, now they could do her no more goode. This done, shee fell doun vpon her knees, without giwing the least figne or demonstratioun of discontent or feare of death: her confancie and boldnes of spirituall curage, her confidence and assurance of hope of recompence of eternall liffe, of God, in liewe and place of her momentanell afflictions, now to be enioyed of her, was such, that all the affistantes, yea, her hardest hearted ennemis, was greatlie mowed; and it was crediblie reported of manie that wer present, that amongest all the whole companie there was onlie two or thrie persons that coulde witholde weeping, they esteemed the spectacle so straunge: condemning these in ther conscience who wer the authouris of such an crueltie, which, in former times, they newer harde nor red of the like. She commendes finallie her soule to the tuition of the Almighty, in these woordes of the psalme, sayinge often and reiteratinge the woordes, “*In manus tuas, Domine, commendabo spiritum meum,*” and that with a loude woice, farre surmountinge the Dean in the eares of the affistantes.

In the meane while, the butcher gaiwe her a greate blowe with the axe, wherby he pearced the stringes within her heade, which he stroake not of but at the thirde blowe, to make her martyrdome the more noble, albeit it weeles is knownen that not the paine, or the punishment, but the cause maketh the martyre. After he had done, he hastelie snatcheth vp the heade in his hande, and shewinge it to the affistantes, saide, “God saiwe Queene Elizabeth, and so befall all the ennemis of the Gospell;” althought ther wer no other that favoured the Gospell, and that liwed as the Gospell directed but Elizabeth: but howesoever in outwarde shewe, shee made a cloake for her wicked liffe of the sacred Gospell, which therby shee prophaned, yeit if her liffe wer weighed in iuste and ewen balance, it should be founde (if all thinges wer clearlie knownen

and censured accordinglie,) shée should become behinde and be postponed this holie martyre by manie degrees. After, in derision and contempt, he pulled of her coiffe and shewed her white haires, with contemptuous woordes onworthie to be spoken or harde by the mouth or eares of anie Christian : He pointed also at the croune of her heade, to shewe it to the people, because it was newelie shawen, which shée was constrained to do by reason of a greiwous rheume which trubled her often.

The tragedie ended, the poore maides, carefull of the honour of ther mistres, humblie besought and prayed Paulett the cruell jealour, that the butcher might hawe no more ado with ther Soweraigne ladies bodie, and that it mighte be permitted them to disatire her bodie when all the people wer departed the place, that no forder indignitie might be offered her sacred Maiesties corps, seinge all malice, hatred, envie, and contempt of the deade ought to end after ther deceffe ; they promesed him her apparell, and all that was about her, and whatsoewer besides he wold demaunde in reason, so that he wold not anie more come neare or handle her sacred bodie. But cursed Cerberus, Paulet I meane, commaundeth them werie rudlie to departe the chamber ; lewinge his hellhounde with the corps to do with what he wold : he presentlie pulleth of her shooes and all the rest of her apparell, which as yeet was lefte about her bodie, and after, when he had done what he wold, the corps was caried into a chamber nexte adioninge, fearinge the faide maides should come to do anie charitable goode office. It did encrease grettie ther desire so to do after they did see ther mistres corps thorowe a little hole of the chamber walle, which [was] cowered with cloath, but the wofull corps was keepte a longe time in this chamber till it beganne to corrupte and smelle stronglie, so that in the end they wer constrained to salte it, and to embalme lightlie to faiwe charges, and after to wrapt it vp in a cacke of leade, keepinge it seawan monethes ther before it was enterred at Peterborowe, where also Cathrine of Spaine laie buried

before. Lafte of all there was a hearste sett ower her tombe, after a simple maner in regarde of her degrie, and it was cowered with blake welwott, which after Mr Deane of Peterborowe either stole, or cauffed to be stollen, of in the nighte season, to make him a caffoke or vpper garment, as they call it, which after did him greate serwice, beinge elected Bisshope of London, when he went a wooinge to my ladie his mistres, who after made him weare broade harnes, as shee had done her firste husbande before him. He was werie busie at her Maiesties execution, that shee wold faiwe her soule, and be adwised by him howe shee might do it ; but not longe after he committeth abominable facriledge in the hieste degrie, shameleffe thifte in robinge the deade, or at leaft is accefforie to boith, and in the end fearfull periurie : for it [is] weeles knownen howe when Elizabeth his mistres, hawinge harde that he was about the mariage of his mistres ladie, a famous woman for a comoune strumpett, tolde him of it, and discharged him to come anie more in her companie : The honest man, to satiffie Elizabeth, made greate protestatiouns with an othe, that he wold newer come anie more at her enteringe at her dore, but the honest mannes inordinat motions did not permitt him to be so goode as his woerde, and therfore to culour his promese and oth, he cauffed a greate windoe of his house at Culham to be made a dore, and a hie staire of stone to be builded vp harde to the windoe newlie changed into a dore, by the which he entered to his ladie mistres, whome, for this purpose, he cauffed secretlie to be brought thither, and after he had keepte companie with her a longe time, in the end he married her. Such a care had this consonable man of the salvation of others, that he altogether becommeth forgetfull of his owen.

But to returne to our historie : Ther be some Englishe that hawe, in ther owen language, sett foorth this execution, togither with the cauffes which mowed ther mistres to this cructie, some so farre fetched and vnlike to be true and altogether false, that he must needes be werie simple

and sensles, if he can suffer him selff to be led awaie so farre astraiie from commone sens and reason as to beliwe them. But howesoewer they painefullie laubour to go about to disguise the mater ; yeet onawarfe to discower trulie some parte of the mater, to wit, the desire of revenge which Elizabeth ever bore Q. Marie in her hearte, for the armes and scutchion of England, which after her mariage with the Dolphin of Fraunce, shee cauffed be quartered with her owen. This was the cheiffe cause of the cruell murder of her innocent cusinge, howesoewer shee go about to impose vpon her manie other designes which should hawe mowed her to deale so vnkindlie with her ; an other cause mowed her to this parricide was the finalle meanes shee had to frustrate the noble houise of Scotland of the croune of England, so longe as boith this Queene and her sonne liwed, and the opinion that shee had that, if the mother wer first made out of the waie, whome shee could newer by anie meanes [get] to resigne her title in her handes, it might be a esie mater for her to compasse the sonne in her clawes by the meanes of her dewilishe angelles, who hawe power to woorke greate wonders in the Scottishe climate.

The foirsaid wretes, amonkest other thinges, recorde, that the apparell of the deade Queene was taken from the butcher, and the waloue theroff was payed him in moneye ; and that her roiale habites, her ornamentes, the welwott and the coweringe of the scaffolle was washed cleane, least it should be stained with her bloode, and after folde. By this we maie plainlie and manifestlie vnderstante the honourable maner of proceedinge used againts this goode Queene, boith whill shee was yeet aliwe in ther handes, and nowe deade. Except [they] had plaide the parte of the cruell canniballes, who feede vpon mennes fleshe, they could do no more : we see what regarde they hawe to the honour of [a] sacred anointed Queene. We hawe seene noblemen, gentlemen and others condemned to die for treason and rebellion againts ther mistres, that newer did see the butcher with ther eies before ther death ; he was

newer suffered to touch them with his handes, but after ther eyes wer closed and cowered, he mounted the scaffold and gaiwe them deathes blowe, and so departed : they wer in no waies to be compared with this renouned ladie. Ther mistres made regards be had of ther persounes, albeit they wer condemned of treason, because they wer gentlemen and men of marke. This ladie was not so: all proceedinges againt her was flatte contrarie to the lawe of God and natiounes. Elizabeth was not superiour to her : yeet her crueltie was such againt her, that, for the right of her croune after her, shee causseth most barbarouslie be assasinated and murdered by the handes of a most infamous butcherlie willaine ; and which is more, after her death, wold not suffer that anie other besides this abiect amongst men, no, not a man but a cruell fawage beastie, should come neare her sacred person ; but he disatireth the corpes of the ornamenteis, he stripped of her garmentes in presence of the people, leawinge it all naked in contempt and disdaine.

This monster of men, hawinge no thinge of a man but onlie the outwarde shape, to make the renouned ladies martyrdome more honourable to all future ages to be recorded, most cruellie with manie blowes butchered the sacred corpes : whose beutie, curage, vitte, vnderstandinge, singular vertues and constancie wold hawe mowed the most fawage amongst the canniballes, if shee had hapned to flie so farre as to them for succoure and aide, beinge destitute and lefte desolate. Yea, the onlie name of a Queene, and her manie rare princelie qualities wold hawe rawished them, and so astonisched them that they could not hawe putt ther hand to wiolat her sacred person, either beinge yeet aliwe or nowe deade. It is recorded that the canniballes eate mennes flesh, and the Scythians drinke mennes bloode, but this was longe since in a rooder and a more fawage and barbarous time and age, and nowe are become more humane and ciwile ; but the Englishe ewen nowe, in the cleare beameisone and sonnebeame lighte of the holie gospel, bringe foorth

such fruities, that they make the sacred name of God and his truth to be blasphemed and prophaned amongst the natiounes. They shewe them-selwes more fawage and cruell towardes this ladie, then ewer we reade anie canniball or Scythian did exercise ther fawage beastlie crueltie against anie that ewer had the shape and forme of a man; for the one doeth but eate mannes fleshe, and other drinke ther bloode, neither do they anie more harme to ther bodie beinge deade, but the fawage English, more brutishe and fawage then the most fawage brutish beast we can reade, do all those cruelties. Harken, O Heawen, and heare O earth, if anie such thinge hath beeene done in our time, or in our fathers time before us! This cursed daughter of Lycaon, in violatinge all righte of hospitalitie, cannot be touched with anie humane affection towardes her neareſt kinnifwoman. Allace, what ſaide I? Shee was more cruell then ewer was Lycaona his daughter: he did eate his gueſtes the daie or the morowe after he had ljudged them, he ſuffered them not to pine awaie and linger in preſon by him; he ſuffered not anie to abuse them, he newer in crueltie abuſed his owen kinred, neither did he kille them to feede vpon, not in his greatest diſtreſſe of famine: he newer murdered anie to whome he gawe his promeſe to the contrarie, nor thofe to whome he had ſworne to keepe friendſhipe vnto, no, not thofe whome he newer harde of nor ſawe before, when they did flie vnto him in their aduersitie. It is reported that the white mores, who eate mennes fleshe, will newer kille anie they ewer knewe before for foode, no, althought they ſhould die and famiſhe: they onlie take ſtrangers whome they newer knewe before, and ſo longe as they keepe them aliwe, they wante no thinge that they deſire, but hawe all thinges that maie content them; but this they do to fatte them againſt the daie of flaughter. But this monſter of all womankinde by manie degryes ſurpaſſeth all them whome before I hawe mentioned in crueltie. This tygreffe, transported with rage and furie, after ſhee had made a league with her neareſt kinnifwo-

man, and sworne amitie and freindshipe with her, to indure so longe as they shoulde boith liwe, yea, after shee had invited her into her realme by her hand wrettin letters, by her ambaffadoures, by guiftes, by presentes, seeinge her in aduersitie, and forced to flie her natvie cuntrie, seekinge for aide and succour at her handes, against her faith and promise, detaines her presoner, and putteth her in a cage for the space of tuintie longe yeares: althought after shee had comed in realme by her hand wrete, shee promesed faithfullie shee wold conweie her home againe as farre as the frontiers, and sett her frie in her kingedome. I can not omitt howe shee sent this ladie a diamonde in a token, which shoulde ewer after be a pledge of her promesed faith to her, wishinge her to send it to her if anie harde distresse shoulde befall her, and shee shoulde be sure to hawe her to do the best shee could for her as for her selff; which diamond the distressed ladie sent her immediatlie before her death, but no promise was keepte, so faithfull was shee and consonable in keepinge of her oth. But this was usuall with her; for the like shee did to Essex and others, whome all shee forsooke in ther aduersitie. Did not this faulchfesse woman, by the adwise of her councell, immediatlie before they putt the mother to death, make a sure league of freindshipe and amitie with the sonne, and all the freindshipe he did finde by the newe league, that not longe after it was sworne vpon boith the partes, they stroake of the mothers heade? O heawen, whie sweates thou not? O earth, whie openes not thou thy mouth, and swallowest vp from the fichte of the sonne and lighte of the moone, such shamelesse, periured willanes? This cruell woman hath weele resembled all the goode qualities of boith her parentes: shee hath comed behind them in no thinge, but rather hath farre surmounted them boith, all her liffe: this her impietie, ambition, crueltie, leacherie, hypocrisie, dissimulation, treacherie, anger, hatred, malice irreconcileable, treacherie, ingratitudo, her wengeance, implacabilitie, crafte, subtilitie to deceiwe, and other infinite qualities of

like forte, wherewithe shee was so richlie adorned, that shee hath plainlie shoun to the world that her talent was not hidden vnder the earth, but shee had putt it foorth to make some encrease and profite.

But to leawe this discourse, which will not please her nor her factious ones, let us returne to the ordinances of her estates, and lett us see and consider whether shee coulde subiect the Queene of Scottes, a prince as much, or more frie, then her selff. Shee newer helde anie thinge of her, or of anie belonginges to her. Did not this renouned ladie ewer exempt her selff from her, and all shee putt in authoritie vnder her, and so from her, to make anie leaste motion of subiection? Shee made no account of ther iudgements and opinions when ther was anie thinge intreated that concerned her selff in this point: Of this minde was Elizabeth in the resolution shee tooke against the adwife of her estates, which shee had assembled in the moneth of October 1566, where it was accorded by comoune consent of all, that they wolde not intreate of anie mater till shee had named a succeffoure to the croune of England, to meete the trubles which beganne to arise within the realme by the carriages and plottes of them that aspired therunto, and proposed then ther titles. Shee commaunded them to passe on forder, telling them that ther resolutiouns could take no effect contrarie to her will, which they wer forced to do after that shee had reproched them, tellinge them that they wold make her graiwe before her death. How much lesse, then, could it be possible for her, or her subiectes, to giwe anie order or resolution for the subiection of a Prince not inferiour, but rather superiour to her and her subiectes, who had no thinge to do with her? We see, as Elizabeth could not abide to subiect her selff in anie thinge to her owen subiectes besides her goode, no more could this goode ladie endure to abandon her selff to Elizabeth, or to anie resolution accorded vpon by her and her estates, against the frie libertie of a frie Prince.

It is a mater without all controuerfie, that no persuaſions nor threat-

ninges coulde ewer mowe this goode ladie to demitt anie waies her righte to anie other, or aknowledge anie other to hawe anie righte to controll her in the leaft thinge that might, in anie one pointe, hawe a cullour to her preiudice. Who can blame her for manteninge the soueraignitie and honour that God had preordinate her vnto? Shee maintained her righte by lauffull meanes. But Elizabeth, and her father before her, whatsoever they pleased to hawe done by her subiectes, ewen althought it wer vnlaufull, no man durste be so bolde to contradicte them: so violent in all ther courses were they, if anie goode man did contrare them, presentlie he was ride out of the waie, as shee did this goode Queene, because shee wold newer agrie to her and her councell that shee wold become her waffale. By what meanes wold shee binde the Queene of Scottes to indure that of her, which shee could newer indure in her owen subiectes? By what reasoun will shee binde the Queene of Scottes to subiection, that was a frie Kinges daughter, and a frie Queene her selff? I knowe weeble you will aunswere me, that anie person, althought it be a frie Prince, that committeth a crime within the realme of an other, contracteth secretlie with that Prince of that realme where such facte is done to be his subiect, to be ordoured by his lawes. To the which, first, it is aunswered, that neither this lawe nor the Roman lawe, *Quæ in provincia*, nor anie other, the like coulde be vnderstoode of Princes, who could not be subiect to ther lawes, nor anie other, beinge Soweraignes them selwes. Secondlie, I saie, this ladie was newer in Elizabethes realme vnder her protection, which is a impudent lie, maintained in the publication of [the] dewilishe sentence giwen by her estates, but was tyrannicallie and most barbarouslie detained against her minde, against the lawe of God and all natiounes. I saie, then, that the Queene of Scottes could not by anie reson be subiect to Elizabethes lawes, shee beinge a frie Queene, borne without her dominions, and cominge within her realme seekinge aide and succour, and beinge in steade of supplie,

beinge, by force and violence, detained against her goode likinge and minde ; yea, althought shée had soiourned ther with goode contentment, and had committed a crime woorthis of death, yeet Elizabeth and her estates could take no knoweledge of her afaires, who had no other superioure abowe her but the greate God of heawen and earth : shée could not, with the councell of her subiectes, uise anie iurisdiction vpon her liffe and honour. I denie, likewise, that shée committed anie crime there ; and saie, that that which they obiect against her is a cruell imposture and a dewised accusatioun, and farre fetched, to giwe a culour and shewe to iustice, and to the tyrannie of this cruell wolffe ; for howe could it be possiblē, and to conspire with her ennemis to her preiudice, beinge so freightlie detained, that not so much as the faithfullest of her serwantes could hawe acceſſe to her ? How could it be, that shée could hawe communicatioun with them who wer prisoners asweele as shée ? It wilbe faide, shée had intelligence with the Catholiques of England : howe could that be, shée neither beinge acquainted with them, nor yeet hawinge anie thinge to communicat with them ? Shee must, of necessitie, hawe ſome interpretour, ſome negotiatour, ſome interceſſoure, or meanes to go betueene her and them : but where ar they, or who wer they ? Her Secretaries letters written to Babington, wer diſcovered and shownen : but who did ſee them ? wer they written or ſubſcriwed with her hand, and ſigned with her ſeale of armes ? Tell me that, I pracie you : You ſhall newer be able to prowe it ; and althought yeet they be ſimple and poore meanes to effectuate the thinge you charge her with, and bringe to the full vpſhott ſuch a weightie enterprife, fithence ther was no thinge but paper that could ſpeake. What was writen in theſe letters you alledge ? the deliwerie of the Queene of Scottes out of preson. I aſke you againe, wer they all writen and ſigned with her hand ? No, no. But giwing and grauntinge they had beene, was this a goode and conſionable cauſe to putt her [to] death, who had ſo often protested by her

letters to Elizabeth, that shee wold newer do anie thinge to the priuicide of her so longe as shee liwed ? If the Catholiques of England did worke, plotte, or do anie other thinge in fawour of her then her deliwerance, what coulde shee do withall ? Shee knewe no thinge of it, much leffe consented to ther designes. It will be saide in this, they wer her ennemis, and not her goode freindes : You will urge me, her complices, and such as wer accessarie to the intended designes, wer putt to death, by whose consciences shee was also charged. It is plainlie and manifestlie knownen the contrarie, there was newer that charged her thus : and we charge you, in the name of the ewerliuinge God, to make this evident by ther true depositiounes in the fighte and hearinge of forren Princes, and they shall thinke them selwes much behoden to you, who wer her sworne ennemis ; but ther was newer anie such thinge, neither shall you ewer be able to prowe it, for all your spite. There was newer anie so shamlesse to awouch such horrible inventiounes but you your selwes, who hawe ewer shounen your selwes her mortall ennemis : yea, I will saie forder, that ther was some of you her false accusers, judges and condemners, whose consciences can testifie the contrarie to your allegationunes, whatsoewer you hawe counterfootlie for a culour cauffed to be written in these mennes depositiounes to cower your tyrannie ; you shall newer be able to showe anie paper hawinge ther true depofitiounes subsciried with ther handes, conteininge anie such mater as you alledge.

Althought your mistres by your councell, ewer since shee bare the swaie in England, hath ewer laboured to sturre vp treasons, rebellions and what treacherie shee could worke, against this ladie when shee was in full authoritie in her kingedome, till the end shee and you, what by forsworne promes, what by subtilitie, peece and peece, you broughte her in your clawes, and nowe to her sorrowfull end. What could Elizabeth alledge against this ladie, her neareft kinnifwoman, whie shee should thinke her woorthie of death ? No thinge, but a false, infamous

libell full of lies, made by her wicked affociates, who hawe ewer beene this ladies spitefull ennemis, and hawe councelled to all treacherie, could be harde of or inwented. It is weeble knownen who shhee and they hawe rigged foorth ther shippes to sea in time of league sworne by her to Scotland, and, vnder culour of freindshipe, hawe done more harme to Scotland in two years abroade, robbing 224 shippes, as they could be compassed by flighte, and at odde corners, nor ewer shhee and her auncestours wer able to do in open warre. Ther legedes of lies, ther chronicles weeble testifieth, howe by lande one armie after an other was sent in Scotland, vnder a pretence to aide this ladies younge sonne against his ennemis, when, in werie deede, they did do no thinge elles but robe the south parte of that kingedome, and throwe doun the castles and strонge holdes, ther to prepare a waie to a forder conquest of all, and did no thinge elles but aide and supporte this goode ladies ennemis and her sonnes, who cultoured ther cruell robberies vnder the name of authoritie of that younge Prince, who, I hope, one daie will awenge all the cruelties done by such treacherous subiectes, done, I saie, against his deare mother and him, and depredatiouns and spoiles committed against his loiale, true hearted freindes; as its weeble knownen the greate God partlie had awenged all these thinges, and partlie made this goode Prince his instrument to take wengeance and to punishe such cruell tyrannie, in the most of them that wer either authoures, cauffers, affistantes, or in anie waies accessaries therunto. Thirdlie, I saie flatlie, that all this proceedinge against this ladie, which they account so honourable, is not onlie against the lawe of God and natiounes, but also directlie against the true meaninge of the lawe of England municipall, which hath ewer vnto him beene generallie obserwed: it appointeth that the proesse against criminalles be examined, tried and iudged by ther equalles of the like qualitie and degrie, beinge xii in number at the leaft. Hawe you assembled together xii Queenes of sewerall kingedomes, in

England, or xii foweraignes prizes to the Queene of Scottes and Dourier of Fraunce? It is an onharde and strange priwiledge you hawe affumed and used in regarde of the renounned dignitie of such a Queene as she was.

Last of all, I saie, albeit this renounned Queene had confpired against the liffe and state of Elizabeth, because she had used her so hardlie for the space of tuintie yeares, against her othe and fidelitie promesed her, yett hawinge in acte done no thinge, shée could not much be blamed in humane sense and reason, shée hawinge so tyrannouslie used her: the lawe of nature might excuse her, which is not onlie approued by the lawes grauntinge manie thinges, as saith Seneca, which honestie, faith, pietie and religion do not permitte. The philosophers saie, that all nature is a conserwer of her selff, and in this respect forceth it selff not onlie to desire and followe that which is profitable and available for it, but also to flie that which is hurtfull and noisome, and to defend it selff by all meanes from it. The ordinances of the auncient Emperours and ciwile lawe founded vpon this maxime of nature, permitt to repulse force by contrarie force, and to faiwe and defend the bodie from violence and iniurie, and redeeme bloode by what meanes soever, for ewerie meanes is honest to procure our saftie. The comoune lawe permitteth to a priuat man to refist the force and iniurie of a iudge, it beinge irrecowerable. Then by howe much greater reason may a foweraigne Prince repell by all possible meanes her tyrannicall dealinge, that by the lawe of God and nature hath nothing to do with her, and hath no authoritie or commande ower her. If shée had permitted her to depart her realme when, beinge invited, shée came to seeke refuge at her handes, such thinges had newer come in controuerzie: shée newer craiwed anie thinge of Elizabeth but her libertie. The brutishe creatoures and birdes, thought you deale newer so mildlie with them, yett, beinge keepte in a cage, they will striwe to breke it, and to take the libertie of the aire abroade: how much more ought and should

reasonable man and woman seeke the same libertie, and so much more  
a frie borne foweraigne Prince !

Thought Pandions iffue hawe no want in cawe,  
Yeet striwe they forreftes freedome to hawe.

I maie perhapses be urged with the olde songe, that the lawe of nature permitteth not to addreffe our felwes towardes our Prince or magistrate, for this caufe, who should not for anie cauffe be violated, notwithstandinge howe iuste soewer it be. It is impudentlie also alledged, that the Kinges of Scotland be waffalles and subiectes to the Kinges of England, and they, with ther subiectes, hawe aknowledged the Kinges of England for ther lauffull superiours.

Baldus, the greate Romane lawer, saith, that the people prescribe ther libertie against the prince in a hundredth yeares. I am sure it is thrie hundredth yeares since that the English pretended anie title of righte of Scotland, and that they newer could pretend anie righte by anie iuste lawe or title. Me thinkes, nowe I hawe harde in this foirfaide alledgeance of this superioritie, the historie of the tries of newe againe rewived, which was thus. The tries went about to chuse them a kinge. The elme, the figge trie, and the wine refused, (and could not leawe to be fruitfull in yeeldings and bringinge foorth the fruites, they wold not abandon ther licour, which did conforte boith God and man,) to commaunde other tries : but the brier, which is no true trie, but rather a bastarde plante and shrube, became so ambitious that it accepted of the empire, and saide vnto them thus : If in goode meaninge, without fraude or deceite, you shall appoint me your kinge, and repose your felwes vnder my shaddowe, I wilbe your kinge ; but if you refuse to do it, let ther iffue a fire out of the breire to burne all the tries of Libanus. I did not thinke, that thou Elizabeth wold hawe shouen thy selff so shameleffe, (howesoewer in all other thy actiouns thou had harden thy face to

become impudent before the world,) as to pretend anie right to the croune of Scotland : Did thou not alwaies deale with this ladie, that shee wold make the ower her iuste right and title theroff ; which shee could newer abide to heare the least motion of, either by thy wretes, or by thy ambaffadoures whome thou and thy councell apointed to deale with her in this point, which, because shee wold newer agrie vnto, thou forged other false accusatiounes against her, to bringe her to her dolefull end. But this was the onlie and true causse of her death, as all indifferent maie weeke coniecture, and in so much as thou canst not affixe vnto it accordinglie, beinge a brier and a shrube, newer hawinge brought foorth anie goode fruite, pleasinge God or goode men, vncapable and unworthie of anie kingedome ; not onlie by reason of thy barrenness, in bringinge foorth of goode frutes in thy actiouns and desertes, but also for thy bastardie, in regarde wheroff thy owen naturall father Henrie 8. and all his estates assembled in open Parliament, disabled the to hawe anie croune or Soweraignitie in thy handes : but then resembling too much him ambitiouslie haft aspired against his minde, by helpe and aide of those to whome ewer since thou haft proffitute thy selff, to be his laufull heire, as an vnfuitfull breire cauffest a fire to issue out of the to consume the tall cedars of Libanus. Thowe beinge a fruitles brier, not growinge in a fertile soile, but in a barren hedge, haft kendled a fire of malicious treacherie, and forced cavillation, to burne and putt to deathe thy lawfull Soweraigne, princes of all the kingdomes and dominions which thou, against right and reason, haft usurped, besides that shee is an heretrix of a croune more auncient, honourable and famouslie renouned then ewer thy auncestoures could commaunde or peaceable enioye : thou beinge a barren shrube nothinge regarded, most like vnto the brere, haft staied the confortable oile and wine, which did issue from that goodlie wine trie, oliwe tree, and fruite of the figge, to the greate conforte of manie a distressed soule.

Shee richlie was adorned with the sweete fruite of the figge tree, with the confortable licour of the pleasant olive and chearfull wine, which as a riwer did dewid them felwes as streames to the relewe of manie a true Christian, whome thowe robbed and made harbourles. Beinge as thou arte a wilde brere without frute, and yeeldinge not anie thinge elles but drie or withered leawes, that is bastardes and adulterous iffue, which thou darre not be bolde to awouch to be thine for publick infamie and shame of the world, by what right will thou pretend to aspire to the Soveragnitie of so famous and auncient a kingdome? Thou maie and will aunswere me, thou maie so do, pretendinge some clame of righte from one as treacherous and subtile as thy selff, Edward Langehankes, or, as the French do name, Edward Longe Jambes; he beinge desirous to rule the whole Isleande, dewised manie plottes for this purpose, but thou art so shameles thou will newer blushe for anie of ther willanies that maie be laide in thy dishe. But to come to the mater full of willanie done by this Edward : Kinge Alexander of Scotland deceasinge by the fall of his horse, without heires male of his bodie, ther did arise two competitouris of the croune of that realme, which wer Robert Bruce and John Baliale, who did striwe for the right a long time ; at last fearinge the greate disordour was like to followe amonegst the subiectes for this cauffe, and the ruine of the comoune people who did partie boith, they wer aduised in the end to putt the mater to compromise, and tooke Edward Langehankes, ther neigboure kinge, to be equall arbitratour and compofitour of the mater, thinkinge he wold deale indifferentlie; but he, beingeglade of the occasion offered, laboured by all meanes possible to make the mater more doubtefull then it was, and to seeke the meanes to gratifie him whose parte was the stronger of the two, he made the mater to be consulted vpon boith in England and Fraunce, he propounded the mater diuerslie to the councell, and he was by them diuerslie adwised, so that the diwision did depend vpon his

good will to favoure him whome he best pleased and liked ; and seeinge the title of Robert Bruce to [be] too manifest and ewident, as hawinge right from the iffue male, and John Baliol had his clame onlie by the female, he earnestlie desired to winne the saide Robert to court, by that which he did desire for preferringe himself to the Soweraignitie of that realme, and therfore he addressed him selff to him, and telleth him that he that wold be kinge must aknowledge him for his superiour, and promise to holde his scepter of him ; and if he wold accept of this condition, he wolde make him kinge, and mantaine his righte against all whatsoever. But Robert Bruce, beinge a man of a curagious and bolde spirite, aunswere deliberalie, that he wold not, nor could, sell the right of his natwe cuntrie, and corrupt the lawes of the croune, and that he could not be a kinge who wold aknowledge anie superioure abowe him, except God alone.

The Englishe perceiwinge him selff frustrat of his attempt on this part, he changeth his course, proposinge the same conditions to the other competitour John Baliole, which wer no sooner propounded, but they wer accepted, and by this meanes was he declared kinge by Edward besides conscience, right and all reasoun, and he did homage to him, promesinge to holde his croune of him as his superiour. Wherupon followed sharpe and hoate warre betuine the two kingedomes ; and Baliole, beinge putt to the worse, was driwen to forfake his newe kinglie title, he depriwed by the nobilitie of the croune, and Robert Bruce was placed in his owen righte, he beinge the nearest laufull heir to the late deceased kinge Alexander.

So Edward, hawinge plaid the false, treacherous Judas, mantained the vnlaufull title so longe as he liwed, makinge him selff by force to be acknowledged for superiour by the most of Baliolles freindes and factioun, and such others as feared his tyrannie, and did what he could to bringe to a province, placinge his garrisons and liwetenantes throwe the most of the shires and regiounes theroff ; he transported the fatall chaire of marble, the most auncient monument of Europe, wherin all the Kinges

before time wer crouned ; he tooke awaie all the antiquities, defacinge the knownen notes and signes of honoure of that kingedome, not sparinge the churches and auncient monumentes of the kinges and nobilitie of that kingedome. But this furious tyrannie continowed not longe ; for Kinge Robert beinge placed in his righte, chased him quicklie out of Scotlande, and sett the whole realme in the olde libertie of a frie kingedome, since which time neither shee, nor her auncestoures, could ewer enioye so much [as] one smalle province there one whole yeare together, althought they hawe often attempted the same to ther shame, besides the losse of manie hundredth thousande of ther subiectes. Wherbye we maie weeple perceiwe that Queene Marie could in no reason be assubiect to Elizabeth, seinge all her auncestoures wer frie kinges, and shee her selff a frie soweraigne Prince, borne in the onlie heire of her father, Kinge James the fifte, a more renouned woorthie kinge than ewer was of anie her auncestoures, or rather predecessouris, so often conquered and chaunged, yea, altogether dispossesst of ther kingedome. Shee was newer woorthie to be compared with this ladie, who, in wertue and guiftes of nature, was not onlie her superiour, but also her mistres in the soweragnitie of the kingedome of Englande, if iustice and righte might hawe had place. I wold willinglie learne by what lawe could they pretend to assubiect this ladie to Elizabethes subiectes and estates ? What forme of proceffe could the leade against her to putt her to death ? The like practise was newer harde, except they will faie, as the miscreant Jewes saide against our Sauiour, We hawe a lawe, and by our lawe shee shall die. But let us come summarlie to the facte, and breiflie repeate it, that we maie see if we can finde anie cause which maie excuse Elizabeth, and mollifie the cruell indignitie of the assassinatioun and murder, so barbarouslie committed vpon the sacred perfone of sua woorthie a princeffe.

Marie, Queene of Scottes, fleinge the tyrannie of her base brother,

that, by the meanes of Queene Elizabeth, had taken her roiale scepter, (by force of armes, supported by her ennemis,) out of her hands, and invaded, (makinge a shewe for the defence of her younge sonne, then a childe,) the whole realme, possesing him selff theroff, shee is so cruellie followed and pursued of him, that shee is forced to forsake her croune and native cuntrie, for a pracie to this mannes crueltie to leawe it. But shee knewe not so perfylle, as fince shee did, of Elizabethes double dealinge. Shee, thinkinge that Elizabeth, her nearest kinnifwoman, wolde keepe touches with her, as shee had promesed, in her last distresfleeth for succoure to her, bearinge with her a saiffe conduct, and throweth her selff in her armes, thinkinge shee might be faiwest with her, they beinge so neare cusinges: shee hopeth for aide and assistance from her, to help her in her righte against her ennemis, by reason of ther consanguinitie, amitie and league of confederacie, which was confermed betuine them by ambaffage, priwie and secrete letters, and manie other interchangable markes and ensignes sent reciprocally from ather to other, and speciaill promesse by obligatioun of woordes. This to be true, it is manifest by the diamonde in forme of a hearte, (wherof Buchannan, his mistres spitefull ennemie, maketh mention in his Epigrammes,) which was often sent betuine them. But yeet notwithstandinge, all this is quicklie forgotten, and albeit ewerie suppliant and hofte be sent from Juppiter, (as Homer alledgedh,) shee no sooner arriweth in England but shee is arrested, keepte as a prisoner, committed to the handes of her principall ennemis, the beleaged confederates of her owen rebellis, which ar foorthwith bribed, and richlie rewarded to accuse her of her husbandes death, beinge weeble informed and instructed before of all they should saie or do in the busines by Elizabethes councell, with faire promeses of greate recompence for ther paines. In the end, the accusars malice beinge discouered, for that they had fallie and calumniouslie accused ther ladie and mistres of that cruell facte and crime, wheroff them selwes wer the authoures, shee, notwithstandinge,

ftandinge, was more sharplie and rigorouſlie handled then before, yea, and thoſe that did ſpeakē anie one woorde in her favour, for the truth againſt her traiterouſe accuſars, wer waxed by all meanes poſſible, howe greate Lordes foewer they wer, yea, ewen to the loſſe of ther liwes and goodes. Nowe, Elizabeth and Leiceſters freindes, perceawinge ther intentiounе littel ſett fordwarde or furthered by thiſ ther pretence, vnder a vizare and cullour of ſeekingē iuſtice, they intruded them ſelwes to be buſie in the emprefoned Queenes kitchen, by ther agentes bringinge thither falſe counterfoote drogges and wares out of Circes ſhope, to hawe giwen her an Italian figge, or poſſet, as they call it, to hawe ride her out of the waie; which thiſe had no goode ſucceſſe by Goddes diuine proviſion. So boith the foirſaide enterpriſe fealinge them, they caſte about an other waie to compaſſe the ſonne, as they had alredie gotten the mother in ther clawes: they did omitt no thiſe of that which they could, or wer able to do, to corrumpre thoſe which had the childe in ther keepinge, who wer fordwarde enough in thiſ buſines, if ſome malecontentes that fauoured the mother had not hindered ther treacherous deſignes, ſo that the Jovinian infant and golden iſſue of the mother, by the eſpeciall protection of God, escaped the handes of the ennemis of his lowinge mother; and thiſ is the occaſion of ther furious and angrie rage, ſeekingē ewer to rewenge themſelwes of her whome they had catched in ther handes, and when they perciwed that the younge kinge, nowe cominge to the yeares of knowledge and diſcretion, beganne to enquire who they wer that had muſtered his father, and defamed his mother shameleſſie of the cruell facte, wheroff they wer the dewifers and executouris themſelwes, and that, after notice trulie taken by his Maiestie, learninge that James Douglas, his protecتور, was one of the principall, he, puttinge him to the triale of his peers, was founde guiltie, and accordinglie executed to death for his treasonable deſignes.

Elizabeth, I ſaie, ſeeinge her righte eie put out, ſhee addrefſes her ſelff

to awenge her selff of the captiue Queene ; alledgine that shee should be the sollicitour and setter fordwarde of this busines : Howe soone shee heares of Douglas captiuitie, shee sendes an armie to the frontiers to threaten warre if he wer not fett frie. But no thretates could helpe : he is putt to death, as he iustlie deserwed ; which, when shee harde of, by the adwixe of her councell shee dissembleth the mater, partlie because shee was in league with the younge kinge, which, to breke, wolde be thought most dishonourable for her, in regarde he was convict and adjudged to die for treason ; and partlie, because shee hawinge her in her handes whom shee thought to be the cauffer of his death, shee mighte, when shee wold, awenge her malice vpon her, as in time shee did to the full. This purpose did like her weeble ; and so they proceede, for the space of sixe or seawan yeares, to laie trappes and stretch foorth ther nettes to catche the innocent ladie. They betake them selwes all this while to putt papistes to death, some iustlie, and other some most innocentlie ; and in the end, to make this distressed ladie the more odious, it is blaſed abroade by ther agentes that the Queene of Scottes had intelligence with them whome shee newer did speake with, see, or harde of, her straite keepinge was such, that no not her owen ferwantes could come to her presence, nor anie other, but when ther agentes or them selwes, in whose custodie shee was. Consider, I praie you, howe this maie go for current, that this ladie could gett anie to deale for her in such weightie maters as shee is charged with, shee beinge so diligentlie attended that shee could do no thinge but by ther goode likinge and sufferance : howe, I praie you, can these two hange together ? Yeet, shee muste needes conspire against Elizabeth and the state : shee must needes hawe intelligence with the catholiques of England in all ther treacherous designes : Elizabeth can not be secured of her liffe, nor the estate preferwed, so longe as this ladie is referwed aliwe ; and therfore with toothe and naile, all delaie sett aparte, they addresse themselwes to put her to

death ; and for the better bringinge of ther purpos about, there is a Parliament called, a lawe of ther owen is made, or rather, as it maie be better called, a particular priwiledge, against the Queene of Scottes, is suggefted ; it is ratifeed, and approwed as current by Elizabeth, by the fuggeftion of her greate nightlie freinde, Leicester. This priwiledge and ordinance, onworthie of the name of a lawe, is keepte secrete, without anie speach of it for the space of a whole yeare after it was made.

Then her freinde Leicester, (if fo I maie name him, without offence done to Sir Christopher Chattam, her houfkeeper, who after became as greate a freinde to her as he,) is fent for to come home ; for without him could shee do no thinge, neither durste her eftates be bolde to attempte anie thinge without his adwife, he was fo cunninge and weeble befeene in poisoninge : who, after he had managed his mistres afaires to her and his owen shame, in the Lowe Countries, transported with rage and furie, returneth to his mistres : he complaineth of his harde fortune, and alleageth to her that the Queene of Scottes was the caufe of the manifolde loffes he had abroade in his warres, when as rather his feble, cowardishe spirite, that could not abide to stande before the face of the ennemie in oppen feelde in batle, was the sole emergent caufe of all his misfortunes in warre, as his foiuores can weeble witnes : but the Earle of Darbie faide flatlie, he suffered him selff for feare to be bribed of the ennemie, and his foiuores throates to be cutte. Then they beganne to awenge Leicesters quarrell on her, amonegst the rest of ther forged, pretended accusatiouns, which they had dewised to accuse this poore, distreffed ladie of ; and thus they proceede, as afore hand they laide ther treacherous plottes, beginninge by the meanes of one Fournam and Thomas Philippes, the ferwantes and agentes of Walsingham, Elizabethes secretarie: they deale, and, byfaire promefes and bribes, bringe the mater fo to paffe, that they corrupt one Gilbert Gifforde, one of the English seminariie in Rhemes in Fraunce, to finde out and practife, as he

had alredie been instructed, some crime againt this ladie in captiuicie, that they might giwe some culour to ther abominable intended designes. This leude willane addreffeth him selff amonegft others to one Mr Paget and Morgan, penfioners to this ladie in Fraunce, and so farre foorth prewaileth he with them, that he draweth letters from boith directed to some of the Popishe factioun in England, entreatinge them to make some meanes for the deliwerie of the Queene emprefoned : and they procure some other wretes for this purpose, (as some alledge,) from the Queenes Secretaries, yea, as others saie, from her selff ; but this moft false laft affertion could newer by anie meanes be proved.

Nowe you maie perceiwe the desire of Elizabeth and her councell broughte about as they wished. The letters and ther aunswers ar giwen in Walsinghames handes, who was the cheiffe and principall agent in this busines : Howe thoſe to whome the letters wer wretin wer apprehended, and the goode Queenes person and her ferwantes all feaſen vpon ; and howe her papers, goolde, jewelles, ringes, and other furniture, wer taken from her, we hawe heirtofore shouen you. Thus they proceede forder, after they hawe led her longe about from place to place, with all indignitie and rewilinge ſpeeches againſt her, without anie forder proceſſe ordourlie led, they bringe her before them, they charge her with ther foire conceiued accuſatiounes which ſhee newer dreamed of. Shee denieth all, but in ſpeciall, that odious crime they imposēd againſt her, that ſhee had attempted and conſpired againſt the perſon of her cuſinge : ther ſhee called God and Angelles to witneſſ, that that was a moft odious flaundre, and that ſhee newer plotted or imagined anie ſuch thinge, nor done anie other exploite, or giwen her adwile to her preiu-dice ; ſhee ſaide ſhee did onlie that which God and nature did permitte her to do, which was to deliuer her ſelff, if ſhee could, of longe miserie of a tyrannicall emprefonment.

The Secretaries ar examined ſecretlie, and outragiouslie threatned to

speake some thinge to the disawantage of ther mistres. Ther deposiciones wer newer shownen openlie, wherbye it appeareth they newer charged her with anie thinge ; they wer newer broughte to her presence, nor anie other witnes to her priudice, yeit for all this, the depuite Commissioners from Elizabeth proceede to execute ther befoire concealed designes ; althought ther consciences tolde them, that these pretended, alledged accusatiounes and crimes was forged and inwented to ther pleasure, and at ther commaunde and warrant therto. And albeit they had beene true, yeit God had newer apointed them to be iudges of a Soweraigne princes, a Queene borne to one kingdome, the daughter and heire of a renouned and anointed kinge, and shee her selff by mariage the Queene of ane other realme more auncient both and more honourable then ewer Elizabeth, or anie her auncestoures or predecessoures wer, as is weeble knownen to all princes throughout the whole Chrifianitie. Shee newer wold aknowledege them her lawefull iudges, nor Elizabeth, ther mistres, her superiour in anie thinge, as is prowed alredie in the allegatiounes and reasons fett doune alredie. Yeit her aunswers ar enrolled, without anie forder solemntie, the cursed conspiratoures against the Lordes anointed, sent foorth from cruell Jezebell, giwe sentence so false in werie deede, that beinge eshamed of it, they wold newer suffer it to be publised in particular, as is weeble knownen. The crimes wheroff they accused this ladie, and the ensuinge cruell sentence, is declared to be true by proclamatioun ; shee standeth convict, attainted ; they, in ther pretended maner, degrade her of all nobilitie, honour and renoune : shee is foirfeeted of the croune of England, and dominions theroff, for her and hers forever : Heire is ther honourable proceedinge that they bragge of. Ther newer anie witnes used in the mater. There is onlie one woord spoken by the ladie accused, which was this, that shee soughte onlie her libertie from longesome empresonment, tyrannicallie used against her, which God and nature gaiwe her lewie to do.

This is all that they can alledge against her, and yeit it concerneth no thinge the facte in question ; for all this they exclaime against her, as the Jewes did against our Sawiour, You hawe harde his blasphemie, what needeth anie witnesses ? Such a summarie proceedinge against a Soweraigne Queene was newer harde nor rede of, nor such a shewe and forme of iustice hath newer beene practized, no, not against the most abiect, damnable criminall person in the world ; for albeit the presoner had confessed the crime urged against her, and awouched it with her owen mouth, yeit the lawe doeth not permitt to fitte therupon in iudgment of condemnationoun, if the confession of the accused criminall be not awerred, and leane vpon other notices, and be confermed by the sayinges and depositiouns of witnesses. The longesome rigour of preson, disguste, and litle regarde to liwe anie longer, and disdaine of the present condition, maie force a person owerweeried to desire death at the handes of ther ennemie, to finishe ther former trubles and aduerse missfortunes. Death is not terrible to all : Manie do haften ther owen death, by giwinge evidence against them selwes, to see an end of ther former miseries ; manie wishe it, aspiringe to a more happie liffe. All the auncient and late lawers, yea, reason it selff, do forbidde and prohibite to put anie person to death vpon a simple confession of anie person ; yeit beholde the honourable proceedinge of Elizabeth and her estates against her culing presoner : Jezabell and her damnable crewe of cruell murderars, all deedlie ennemis to this princes, be, in steade of accusars, witnesses and judges condemninge her to death, which shee longe had looked for and expected ; to giwe, I saie, out the sentence of death against her, awerred onlie by her simple confession, not of the crime they accuse her of, but of a thinge which God and the lawe of nature permitted her to do, which was this, that shee minded to seeke her owen libertie, and sett her selff frie of the barbarous tyrannie of her longesome empreisonment.

If shee had confessed that, to sett her selff at libertie, shee had conspired against Elizabethes liffe, or attempted anie mater preiudiciale to her estate, they had had some apparence of reason for ther proceedinges so summarlie. But shee hath ewer sworne vpon her honour and conscience the contrarie, yea, at werie point of death, yeeldinge her soule in the handes of her Sauioure, shee protested thus vpon her salvatioun, shee onlie sought libertie, but not to shedde anie bloode for the attaininge ther-off. But yeet to giwe culour to ther proceedinges, that they had werie honourable dealte in this mater, they signe the cruell sentence with ther handes, they send it to the Christian kinge of Fraunce, to excuse them and ther mistres; they wrete vnto him thus, That the Queene of Scottes was so contrarie to her in all her actiouns, that ther liwes could not be compatible and subfift together, and that it was necessarie for one of them shoule be assured of liffe and estate by the death of the other. It is woorthe the notinge to showe the falsnes of the pretended accusatiounes, that they alledge they could finde no other meanes to faiwe Elizabeth aliwe, but by the death of the neareſt kinnifwoman shee had in the world. Fie, shameles mouthes, speake plainlie the truth ! Had you not longe before premitated and suborned, yea dewised a plotte to trape this ladie in ? Your consciences and your God knoweth you did it, and that you longe before imagined amoneſt your felwes to putt her to death, accusinge her, and pronuncinge your sentence so cruellie against her, most iniuftlie condemninge her of these thinges which shee newer dreamed of. But ther is a righteous iudge who did beholde and sie all your doinges, and her innocencie.

It is weele knownen to manie thouſandes in Fraunce, that manie of your favorites and factioune there had the copie of your cruell, dewilifhe ſentence againſt the Queene of Scottes, not onlie before it was pronounced, but also before the Commiffionars had taken anie notice of the caufe, and before you beganne to proceede. The Chriftian kinge, by

this meanes, came to knowe in what danger his sifter was like to be brought ; and therfore, in all haste, did dispatche Mounsieur de Belliure, Councillour of Estate, towardes Elizabeth, to shewe her the noweltie and insolence of this iudgement, and the iuste occasion he had to take notice theroff, if shee should proceede in the execution theroff. The ennemis of the Queene of Scottes, to hinder the Lord of Belliure to hawe acceſſe to ther mistres, made a false brute abroade, that he had broughte the plague from Paris, and that ſome of his followers were deade theroff by the waie, and ſome wer ſicke of it. When he demaunded ludginge at London fitte for ſuch a ambaffadour as he was, it was denied him, ſo that he was conſtrained to take ſuch eafe as he could hawe, to his greate coaſte and charges in an inne. The daie of his audience apoint-ed, it was put to a newe daie, and then he was but halfe harde, and rudlie interrupted almoſt ewerie woerde he did ſpeakē. The nexte time he came to hawe audience, Elizabeth ſett her ſelff doun to the cardes, as diſdaininge to heare him, when he propounded the reſt of the mater he came for ; all the aumſwere ſhee made, beinge importuned of him, that within foure daies he ſhould heare and ſee forder. In this delaie, in ſpite of the Chriftian kinges ambaffadour, ſhee cauſed to be published through the citie of Londone with ſounde of trumpett, and fixed vpon the poſtes in the ſtreeteſ and markett places of the citie, the cruell ſen-tence and iudgement, after ſhee had ſent it to be propounded to the Queene prefoner by my Lord of Buchurſt, whose grandfather did foirrune his cuntrie, leawinge Wales for ſtealinge of horſe, who him ſelff also beinge Heigh Treasurer of England, hawinge ſtollen, by forgerie, a lordſhipe of lande oniuſtliſ from a weeſe meaninge knighte, whome he conuented before the councell to iuſtifie his falſhoode and indireceted proceedinge. The knighte deſiringe God to ſhowe the righte, Buchurſt aunſwered him, with an protestatioun to the coun-cell, that he wold make it be ſeene howe he iuſtliſ had that lordſhipe ;

and whilles he is speakeinge these woordes, and pullinge out some writtes out of his pokett, he gaiwe vp the ghoste. So honourable and iuste wer his actiounes, as his fearfull end did declare.

By Buchurstand Mr Beale, notarie apointed for the forminge of the proesse against the Queene, I saie, was it not good to her, which, while it was signified vnto her Maiestie by woerde of mouth, and by pronuncinge by wrete in readinge it in her eares, shee newer mowed at it, nor chaunged her countenance; but beinge all red and ended, shee faide sweetlie, shee thanked God for the honour he had apointed for her, to suffer for his name, and not for anie offence thought or committed by her against her cusinge: God forgiwe her and them all, as I do with all my hearte.

The sentence beinge notisfeid to the Queene, is broughte backe to London, and, in signe of ioye, the belles be runge 24 houres, all the greate ordinance in the Toure is shotte, bonefires be made throughout the citie, and finallie, no thinge is lefte vndone to shewe ther ioye: but fince all this ioye hath beene turned into heawines, and Elizabeth, at her owen death, had no such quiett departure in the peace of conscience, nor anie that was interested in the sheddinge of this innocent bloode, as this goode ladie had. God forgiwe them all, and laie it not to ther charge.

But to retурne to the mater in hande. As the French ambaffadour had no goode aunswere to his contentment in the busines he came for, ewen so the ambaffadour of the younge Kinge of Scottes, this ladies sone, that made earnest fute for the saftie of his mothers liffe, was no better delte with, but with brawadoes anewe boith wer faced out, and in the end they had this aunswere, shee gaiwe them leawe to go, and that shee wold go about to dispatche some of hers, within fixe or eighte weekes after, to ther maisters, to make them aunswere in that they came for.

This beinge done, they proceede to the execution of the cruell sentence in forme before alledged, which I feare againe to reporte in regarde of the willanies in this ladies person, they hawe offered to all Soweraigne

kinges, princes and potentates, vnder the cope of heauen ; for the outragious dealinges hath been used against her, boith before and after her death, wer so monstrosand inhumane, that the uglie monster that commaunded them to excuse her selff of them, is constrained to flie to that commune and miserable defence, that they proceeded without her priwicie, and against her meaning ; and to giwe shewe to her speech, to make it seeme to hawe truth when it hath none, shee hath cauffed Secretarie Dauidson to be committed to the Toure of London, where shee cauffed him be better entertained, and liweth more at his owen ease, then if he wer at his owen house. If he did it besides her knoweledge, which shee alledged, that is, gaiwe out the warrant for the execution of this ladie, whie is he not putt to death ? and whie did shee sett her hand to it, and committ to him to keepe ? But all this is but iuglerie to dazell mennes eyes. Whie did shee not addresse her selff to her freindes Leicester, Cecile, and others that commaunded it, and not to ther flaiwe who could not do withall, nor durste not disobeie them, nor do anie thinge in this mater, beinge of greate consequence, against her and ther goode likinge, had shee not signed it with her owen hand that which brought this ladie to her graiwe ? Shee could do no more, onles shee wold hawe put her hand to execute her her selff, and be her burrive, which shee wold with all her hearte hawe done 20 yeares ago, if shee could hawe had the occasion offered her : nowe shee findeth a fitter oportunitie, when shee feeth all Christian princes compassed in ther afaires by plottes, subtilties and treasouns sturred vp [by] her against them, that none could take notice of her dewilishe tyrannie. Shee perciwed weeke, that the kinge of Spaine was so entangled in his warres of Flaunders and her theiwishe pyrates, that he could not hawe leasure to awenge him selff of her : and shee treacherouslie had sturred vp a stronge armie of Reesters to enter Fraunce to truble all there : and for this ladies sonne, then beinge younge, shee by her bribes had corrupted

one of his ambaffadouris, that before he came from Berwicke, he beinge a false hearted papiste, betraide his maisters legacie, fendinge woorde by post to this Jesabell to dispatch his mistres before he came, by this emprise and note, *Mortui non mordent*, the deade bite not. And the true hearted ambaffadour that laboured with tuith and naile for his leige lord his maisters mothers liffe, shee brawed him and rewiled him with all her maine and spitte, so that the dewile him selff, Machiwell, nor no other Atheist, can be able to practize anie thinge which shee hath not leste vndone for the disquietinge of the aecumenike Christian world.

Ther is one thinge which I can not omitt, which was dewised to culoure her crueltie to hawe a shewe of iuste wengeance, and to persuade the world, was certanlie resolwed and concluded, if the conspiratouris had taken place : Shee sturred vp one Mr Stafforde, brother to her Ambaffadour in Fraunce, to encounter Monsieur Ambaffadour Chastieu for the French kinge, (as shee pleaseth to tearme him,) and shee became so impudent that shee wold hawe confronted him to her, and giwen him Cecile and Walfinghame to be his iudges. Shee made also some to followe after Monsieur de Trapes, and bringe him backe presoner to London, takinge from him his letter which he caried for the kinge his maister ; but findinge not one woorde in them which mighte make anie shewe to the alledged conspiracie, shee riddes her handes of him and dismises him.

It was a commendable custome amonkest the auncientes, that they wold first discharge ther guestes and freindes of ther companie, to giwe them notice that they did beare them no goode will, that if, perhappes, they should stand in neede to saie vnto them, they wolde not giwe them anie entertainement, nor ludginge, or anie other encouragement to exspect anie goode at ther handes ; and so should Elizabeth hawe done to her cusinge. Shee should discharged her when shee send her woorde that shee was to come within her kingdome : shee should hawe sent her backe againe the woued gages and pledges of the mutuall amitie

and freindshipe promesed: shee should hawe send her woorde, before shee came in her cuntrie, that shee had a confederatiooun with this ladies mortall ennemis and rebellis, and that shee preferred her league shee had with them before hers. But no such mater tooke shee ewer in hand; for her purpose was ewer by cunninge to allure and entise this Queene, by faire promeses in a shewe of amitie, to come to her, where shee mighte be sure with her selff; or if this did not satissie her, shee wolde accompanie her, in her owen person, as farr fforthe as the frontiers of ther two kingedomes, and by force of armes sett her in frie and peaceable possession of her former authoritie. But howe weeble this was performed, lett the world iudge: in steade all these her faire conditiouns, after shee came within her pawes, as a suppliant seekinge the promesed woued succoure, shee is ewerie waieabused, despised, reproched, and trappes laide for her liffe by poison, the fworde, and all other meanes possiblē, till shee is brought to her utter ruine.

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